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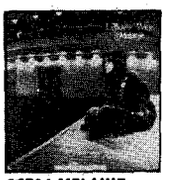

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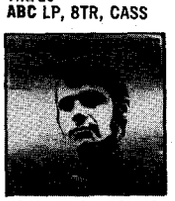

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TRB

from Washington ®

Bending in the Wind

We catch ourselves wondering, sometimes, if readers understand what's going on in Washington. Blessed if we do. But we have the handicap of being right here watching it. It might be easier from a distance.

For example, take busing. The Supreme Court unanimously said that busing to end dual school systems was all right if necessary, and Elliot Richardson's HEW prepared a busing plan for Austin, Texas. When a local court vetoed the plan the Justice Department said it would appeal. All perfectly simple. But then Mr. Nixon said he didn't like the Richardson plan at all and threw it out, and after Richardson had been off in Alaska for a while, maybe cooling off, he appeared at San Clemente and said he quite understood Mr. Nixon's disavowal and agreed with the President perfectly.

You understand that? Fine; wish we did.

And you can go on and on. For example, a bank distributed complimentary copies of an early article by unfortunate administration economist Paul McCracken calling any wage-price freeze "illusory," just as Mr. Nixon plumped for a freeze. People smiled understandingly. To serve Mr. Nixon you have to have strong beliefs, and be willing to shed them quickly.

Of course you mustn't resign; that would be disloyalty to the team. Nobody has done that since Hickel who either resigned or was fired when he found that being Secretary of the Interior didn't mean getting into the interior of the Oval Room.

Or take the interesting example of economist Herbert Stein. One time, years ago, a young chap named Dick Nixon got his first job in Washington in OPA fixing prices in the auto tire retread division, an industry more ingenious in gimmicks for evading rules than almost any in the free enterprise system. "Never again! Price controls don't work," said our young man. This gave him a wonderful fellow-feeling for Herb Stein who feels they won't work, too. In 1944 Stein, in his twenties, won the Pabst Brewing Company's $25,000 prize for the best essay on how the nation could get full employment when the war ended. For 22 years he was with the Committee for Economic Development, a prestigious group of forward-looking businessmen, where he developed the concept of the "full employment surplus." This happy idea, which is now conventional wisdom, he brought to Mr. Nixon. It conveniently gets around Eisenhower's horror of a federal deficit. It says that there are good deficits and bad deficits. A deficit is "good" during a recession if it isn't bigger than what the federal surplus would have been if there had been full employment. That's simple isn't it? Since Mr. Nixon had always been publicly against deficits, and was piling them up embarrassingly as President, this happy rationalization was like the big bunch of red roses presented to the Beauty Queen. So now Herb Stein and George Shultz, director of Management and Budget, both of whom have always argued that wage and price controls won't work, are directed by their boss to take leading roles in the freeze program. As we say, it's easier to understand these things from a distance.

One nice thing about the freeze is that we shall be spared those monthly explanations of how well the old abandoned economic game plan is doing, and why its temporary failure is just a momentary aberration. That will be a big relief. And speaking more seriously, in spite of many of our friends, we think the new plan will work – for 90 days anyway. It provides a social mechanism, however faulty, by which labor and industry can just possibly climb off the inflationary treadmill. But labor feels abused. It was not consulted in advance. Will canny old George Meany go along?

We sat across from him the other morning and watched him talk, with his arms crossed over his stocky chest, a face like Jiggs in the "Jiggs and Maggie" comic strip, a whole lot of charm, and an earthy, cracker-barrel tongue that can take the skin right off an antagonist.

Pushing a wire basket in a supermarket in Chevy Chase, nobody whispers and looks after Meany, the leader of 13,500,000 workers, the way they did at the late John L. Lewis, say, who had the bristling of brows of a Noh mask. In a Bronx accent the 77-year-old Meany can reduce complex things to elemental terms, for example that next year's election may resolve itself into the simple issue of "what does the little woman bring home in the market basket; and is Poppa working?"

There was no reason for the White House to make a personal issue with Meany over the freeze. The White House thought it was going to sweep the country along with it in a rhetorical wave, and when Meany made the cantankerous but valid point that the proposed tax bonuses to corporations are dramatic distortions and inequities, and when he braced himself for a better bargaining position, the administration thought it could shift the crusty old plumber by driving a wedge between him and his followers. "What did you think of the White House proposal to start a move for compulsory retirement of union leaders at 70?" we asked. "I died laughing," he snorted, shifting his cigar. "The bureaucracy after this price freeze," he added, "will be the worse thing since Poil Harbor."

Meany stands between the President and a lot of blue-collar ethnics and others who could be a big swing vote in '72. Maybe that's what Mr. Nixon had in mind the other day when he told the Knights of Columbus and Cardinal Cooke in New York that he would work to get aid for parochial schools. It brought cheers and whistles. By contrast, Ted Kennedy spoke here last week and said that he agreed with his brother Jack against government aid for parochial schools.

Kennedy answered written questions. One brutal one hit him between the eyes. Why object to secrecy over Kent State, when he had favored secrecy about Chappaquiddick? The audience gasped. It had to be answered even though you felt the anonymous venom behind it. The handsome young man, who looks like an Arrow Collar ad, kept his poise and said he was holding nothing back.

We think Kennedy would almost certainly have got the presidential nomination, and election, next year, but for that one thing. As it is we believe he doesn't want to run, and won't.

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The Young Voters

Attorney General Mitchell has declared himself opposed to pending legislation that would allow students to register to vote where they attend college. Sensitive to every nuance of discrimination, Mr. Mitchell says students should have to file absentee ballots, just as 800,000 young military men of the same age have to do. But what the administration's chief lawyer would know, had he done his homework, is that servicemen won the right to register wherever they *claim* residence under the Supreme Court decision *Carrington v. Rash* in 1965. Many cases now being argued in behalf of students' registering where they go to school are based on this decision. The Census Bureau (which counts students as living at college, not in their parents' homes) says the average American moves once every five years. A businessman stationed in a community for just a year has the right to vote there. A student is in college for four years. Why then should he be considered a transient, ineligible to cast a ballot? Isn't that discrimination?

Mr. Mitchell says his Justice Department will not issue guidelines to aid the states in registering the new voters. It would be "presumptuous" of him to infringe on the prerogatives of Congress in this case. We wonder if it is not more presumptuous (and transparent) for him to make pronouncements on pending legislation, while neglecting the letter of the law. The 26th Amendment, which enfranchised 11 million voters, 18 to 21 years old, leaves no room for equivocation: "The right of citizens of the US, who are 18 years of age or older, to vote, shall not be denied or abridged by the US or by any state on account of age."

As the attorney general may know, in many districts, students and other would-be registrants are running into the same sort of hostility which has kept black voters off the lists in the South. Most states have some written policy to cover registration of students, but even in places where regulations are clearly defined certain local registrars apply their own standards, particularly where there is any chance of a local political takeover by students in college towns.

Massachusetts is one of the 14 states which have decided to allow students to register at college. State Attorney General Robert Quinn ruled that towns cannot discriminate against students; they must abide by state law and register anyone who has maintained residence

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for six months or says he plans to live in the district indefinitely. Some election commissions have shown a reluctance to cooperate – notably in Cambridge, where students from Harvard and MIT make up a large part of the population. David Mendelsohn, a graduate student at Harvard who has lived in Cambridge for more than a year, found local officials uncooperative, even with Quinn's ruling going against them. Mendelsohn decided last May that he would run for the school board in Cambridge. To do this he would have to be registered as a voter. When he went to City Hall, he was told that because he was a student he must come back with proof of six months' residence. He returned. According to Mendelsohn, the commissioners then questioned him "in detail" about his finances and asked him what he had done to divorce himself from his father's household. At the end of a long hearing, they told him his evidence was insufficient. He came back with more, only to be rejected again on the grounds that "six months ago he had not intended to stay in Cambridge indefinitely." The election commissioners have refused Mendelsohn any further hearings, and the filing deadline for the local election has passed. Mendelsohn has joined three other rejected applicants in taking the Cambridge officials to court.

In Connecticut, a graduate student who went to register in New Haven was rejected, while his wife was accepted because she was not a student. An 18-year-old in Florida was told he could not register until the Supreme Court had tested the 26th Amendment to see "whether it was constitutional"! Cases like these – in which discrimination arises from local prejudice rather than from idiosyncratic state law – are exceptional. Thirty-four states have laws which make it difficult or impossible for students to register at college. Twelve require financial independence. Eleven categorically exclude students from town politics. And eleven others have partial restrictions. Until August 27, unmarried minors in California were required to register in the district where their parents live. This ruling, handed down by the state attorney general, has been invalidated by unanimous decision of the state supreme court. A similar requirement in Texas will be tested in September. Maine allows students to register at college only if they sign a statement of intent to stay in town after graduation. Tennessee says that students who receive money from parents technically live at home.

Several national organizations have taken up the cause of young voters, and at least one is bringing recalcitrant election boards to court. Common Cause – the nonpartisan "citizens' lobby" headed by John Gardner – maintains a Voting Rights Project under the directorship of Anne Wexler. Although it prefers to operate as a clearinghouse for information on how to handle lawsuits, the staff has become involved directly in several cases around the country.

Other groups focus more on stimulating young voter interest. "The Movement for the Student Vote," with a tax-free budget of $500,000, plans to wage a poster campaign urging students to register. It is also preparing a survey of college towns to show that students and universities contribute substantially to local property, sales and income taxes. "Frontlash" is a labor-backed group attempting to reach workers and young people who are overlooked by college-oriented organizations. In Georgia it is trying to win the right to send volunteer registrars into the high schools. "Registration Summer" is Allard Lowenstein's nonpartisan movement to rouse young voters. He has held, or plans to hold, rallies in 20 states to bring young Democrats and Republicans together to dump Nixon and end the Vietnam war.

This summer Senator Edward Kennedy (D, Mass.) introduced the latest of several Senate bills which could eliminate the problem of local discrimination altogether. He would like to take the job of registration away from local commissioners and give it to the federal government under a new "Universal Voter Registration Administration" within the Census Bureau. Under Kennedy's plan, a citizen would be required only to send the UVRA a postcard bearing his name, official residence, political party and a signed statement that he is eligible to register. Thirty days before a federal election, the Census Bureau would close registration and its computers would begin typing out voting lists to be sent back to the states. Verification of identity would be handled by a computer number system and by the comparison of signatures. Each state would have the option of using the same lists for local elections.

Senators Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.) and Daniel Inouye (D, Hawaii) have offered their own proposals for federal registration. Humphrey's resembles Kennedy's except that it would allow the states to maintain their old eligibility standards, and would use the Internal Revenue Service rather than the Census as the administrator.

Inouye's bill would create a corps of federal registrars – one for every district in the country. Any state with 90 percent of its eligible voters registered would not be required to use federal registrars, but would receive a financial bonus instead. This proposal, based on methods used in Europe, follows the recommendation of the 1970 Freedom to Vote Task Force (headed by Ramsey Clark and sponsored by the Democratic National Committee).

The Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee intends to hold hearings on registration reform early this fall. Along with the bills already mentioned, the committee will consider less sweeping proposals by Senators Tunney, Hughes and Cranston, all of them attempting to reform what Senator Kennedy has called "an arbitrary, obsolete and unfair system by which vast numbers of Americans are silenced at the polls."

Arguments which ask students to vote anywhere

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except where they live are legally unconvincing. In the recent California case the state's supreme court ruled that it is unconstitutional to subject minors to additional residence requirements, special financial qualifications or the burden of filing absentee ballots. The 26th Amendment extended to young people an invitation to participate in national political life. Given the evident political leanings of the young (many more registering Democrat or Independent than Republican), it's not surprising that middle-aged conservative politicians and the pillars of local communities might wish to withdraw the welcome. But it's late for that. Moreover it would be an unfortunate lesson in the workings of the political system if its leaders were able to thwart the Constitution and in effect disown their own cliches about working within the system.

Indicted Prosecutor

The indictment of Cook County (Ill.) state's attorney Edward V. Hanrahan, voted in April, was finally disclosed in Chicago late last month, but never can an indictment have had such birth pains. (See, "Panther Raid Coverup," *NR* July 24 & 31, 1971). Four times the Illinois Supreme Court had to act before Chief Criminal Judge Joseph A. Power, friend and former law partner of Mayor Richard J. Daley, opened the indictment naming Hanrahan, a Daley protege.

The result, most observers agreed, constituted a severe jolt to the vaunted Daley Democratic machine and very probably aborted a promising political career for the fiery, 50-year-old prosecutor. Insiders say the Democrats will ditch Hanrahan and slate a new man for his politically key job in the 1972 election. Speculation has focused on Thomas A. Foran, the clean-cut Chicago Seven prosecutor though Foran, an unannounced gubernatorial candidate, said he would give up his law practice only to run for governor.

Meanwhile, despite demands that he take a leave of absence, Hanrahan has said he is innocent, intends to remain on the job and will fight to vindicate himself. The Boss, Daley, has backed him in his determination to stick it out, blasting Hanrahan's critics as "holier than thou" people who would do well to reread the Magna Carta, Declaration of Independence and the US and Illinois Constitutions.

Hanrahan and 13 others – an assistant state's attorney and 12 policemen – were indicted for conspiring to obstruct justice, allegedly by falsifying the facts about the 1969 raid on a Black Panther apartment in which Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed. The maximum penalty upon conviction is three years in jail and a $1000 fine. The indictment was originally voted in April, but was bottled up after the word got out and the political machinations began. Power held the special prosecutor he appointed, Barnabas F. Sears, in contempt of court and the case went up to the state supreme court for the first time. Late in June the court vacated the contempt sentence and set the guidelines for Power to determine whether Sears had improperly influenced the special Grand Jury as alleged by attorneys representing those supposedly indicted. The court said Power could review the transcript and interview the jurors as a body, if requested by them, in deciding whether the indictment was legal and should be opened. After the decision, the grand jury reaffirmed the indictment which the judge kept sealed. Power set a hearing for August 5 to make his next move. On that date he announced the surprise appointment of Mitchell Ware as a friend of the court to help him determine the validity of the indictment. Ware, who is black, had a somewhat liberal reputation, and was head of the Illinois Bureau of Investigation in Governor Richard B. Ogilvie's Republican administration. Ware was promptly let go by Ogilvie – an aide said

"I hope you'll leave your fur piece at home."

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Ware couldn't do Daley's dirty work and remain with the governor. A week later, Power ordered a hearing to consider whether Sears and his staff had improperly pressured the jury, at which Ware would make a report and witnesses would be called to testify. Sears went to the supreme court again, requesting that the hearings be delayed, that the appointment of Ware be rescinded, and the indictment be made public. The chief justice halted all further proceedings until the full court could consider the matter.

A few days later Power granted Hanrahan the right to return to court to make a statement about the case. Word quickly spread that Hanrahan would ask the indictment be opened. Minutes before the state's attorney was scheduled to speak, the supreme court, at the request of three of Hanrahan's assistants who were involved in the Panther raid, again stayed all proceedings. Power volunteered that, but for the ruling, he would have made the indictment public. Hanrahan later filed a brief with the court pleading that the indictment be killed. The wrongful indictment of public officials, he argued, "harms the individuals and does irreparable damage . . . both to the public office which they represent and to the government of which they are a part."

On August 24, the supreme court in a unanimous four-page opinion, put an end to all the foolishness, vacating the appointment of Ware and ordering Power, "in the interest of justice" to open the indictment. It was a day that most observers thought would never come. At the arraignment on August 31, Hanrahan and the other defendants, refused to plead on the basis that the indictment was defective, but moved to dismiss the charges. Power, as chief judge, then gave the case to Judge Philip Romiti, 53, a Democrat who was Dean of Daley's old law school, DePaul, before he was elected to the bench three years ago. Romiti continued the hearing for a few days, to review the file, because, he said, he knew nothing about the matter "except what I've read in the newspapers."

Headstart Plus

Mental retardation among slum children is a cumulative blight, passed down from one generation to the next, hushed up and barely understood. Most of the victims are functionally retarded; their low IQs have no organic cause. Most communities look on these people as hopeless, part of an epidemic they are powerless to affect.

However, the July 1971 issue of *American Education* reports impressive advances in the IQ scores of ghetto children in a special Milwaukee program. The Infant Education Center Project, a group of educators led by F. Rick Heber of the University of Wisconsin, concentrated on the new-born children of 40 mothers whose IQs were less than 70. Each child had his own tutor – each child was well fed, talked to, listened to, stimulated. An expensive education, no doubt, but the children achieved normal and above-normal IQs, ranging up to 135. Ths evidence suggests a new wrinkle in the argument over environment and heredity. It is not the slum environment but the retarded parent (usually the mother) living in that environment which is "the most reliable single indicator" of a child's possible mental retardation. Community agencies could identify on the basis of maternal intelligence in what families it will tend to appear.

Educational experiments like the Milwaukee Project would come under the scope of an ambitious child development bill which is scheduled to reach the Senate floor this week. Sponsored by Walter Mondale and 29 other Senators, S 2007 would authorize spending $2 billion in 1973 and $4 billion in 1974 for locally sponsored day-care facilities. Each center, though, would have to do more than provide TV sets for baby-sitting purposes. It would have to operate some part of a flexible range of child development programs, including prenatal services, health and nutritional care and preschool education. Some blacks worry that federally financed day care might subject more ghetto kids to more white paternalism. But these voluntary projects depend on local sponsors, public or private, and though HEW may set certain guidelines, the bill generally provides for full community control and encourages parents to participate.

The Mondale bill stresses intervention at a much earlier age than the Headstart program, which it would take over. Studies of Headstart children have indicated that at least 10 percent to 25 percent are already crippled in their emotional and intellectual development by the time they enter the program at age four. Headstart's high drop-out rate convinced the bill's sponsors to favor comprehensive development from birth through the infant years, even though it is here that education is most expensive and families are the most protective.

Because of the forced work requirements in its welfare bill, the administration is willing to build more day-care centers to get AFDC mothers out of the house. But it is hardly prepared to push high-priced child development programs. Meanwhile, the schools themselves continue to be dumping-grounds for the emtionally handicapped and the mentally retarded. They are asked to do the impossible. The Coleman Report in 1965 surveying nearly a million pupils in 6000 schools found that family background and social environment mostly decided how well a child did in school. By trying to enrich and supplement this familial culture, the Mondale bill is a worthy step toward a philosophy of universal pre-school public education.

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ment and a local grand jury all issued reports based on separate investigations of the shooting. The Montgomery County report said flatly that the procedures its police force used were proper. The grand jury, which decided not to indict anyone, found that the Ballews "may have had cause to act as they did." Connally and Treasury were in the most delicate situation; they apparently wanted to defend the federal agents who led the raid, but on the other hand, the firearms interests are wealthy and powerful, and there is an election coming up next year. The result was a somewhat equivocal report. Connally announced early in August that the raid was "legally proper under the circumstances," but said he had found some "administrative and supervisory deficiencies" in the conduct of the raid. Connally found no fault at all with the use of plainclothes officers or the use of the battering ram to enter the Ballews' apartment.

None of the investigations came to grips with the questions about law enforcement raised by the Ballew case. Why were plainclothes officers used in the raid? Although both Treasury and the local police defend themselves by arguing that there was one uniformed officer among the raiders, there is no evidence that he ever got inside the Ballew's apartment before the shooting. Therefore, when Mrs. Ballew claims that she had no idea the raiders were policemen until after the bullets stopped flying, she may well be telling the truth; the police will have a tough time proving otherwise. One wonders whether plainclothes officers should *ever* be used on a search-and-seizure raid. It is hard to imagine even a hypothetical case in which the benefits outweigh the possibility of mistaken identity illustrated by the Ballew case. Significantly, neither the US Treasury Department nor the local police have announced any changes in their policies regarding plainclothes officers since the shooting of Ballew.

Why do law enforcement officials make a habit of knocking down doors on search-and-seizure raids? Are there no alternatives – such as informing a person as he enters or leaves his apartment that a warrant will be served? In the Washington, DC area, the Ballew case took on special significance because of the "no-knock" provision of the District of Columbia crime bill passed last year. The raiders did in fact knock briefly at the Ballews' door, but what happened thereafter was exactly what community leaders had warned would happen under no-knock: the police battered down the apartment door and the resident grabbed a gun to defend himself. In this case, it was impossible to rationalize the intrusion on grounds that evidence was being destroyed: hand grenades, unlike heroin, cannot be flushed down the toilet.

More than anything else, the Ballew case illustrates what happens when the conduct of law enforcement officials is dictated by fear and fantasies so great that they turn out virtually to be self-fulfilling. The agents and police had heard that Ballew's apartment was "booby-trapped," perhaps with a shotgun at the door. That was a neighborhood rumor which turned out to be untrue. The agents and police had also heard that Ballew was a dangerous man, but they have supplied no evidence, and if he was, they never had a chance to find out. Given their fears, they brought a battering ram to the apartment door and had an ambulance standing by in case of injuries. They managed to find use for both.

All criticism of the raid may be dismissed as second-guessing by police, and none of it will be of much consequence to Ballew, who still has a bullet in his brain. In August, however, the Montgomery County executive, James P. Gleason – still defending the conduct of his police force – announced that because of the "tragic consequences" to Ballew, the county will pay his medical bills and offer physical and speech therapy. Moral: If people in sweatshirts who turn out to be police knock down your door and then shoot you, at least (if you're lucky) you won't have to worry about the medical bills.

Jim Mann

MR. MANN *is on the staff of* The Washington Post.

How Not To Lure Passengers

Unfair Air Fares

Jubilation at Lockheed should be short-lived: the government's guarantee of their $250 million loan is one more step toward a bankruptcy infinitely greater than that of one troubled company. The threatened larger victim is the scheduled airline industry, which can't fill its still-good Boeing 707 and DC-8 fleets, and doesn't need new and larger aircraft. There is every reason for the new planes to be emptier than the old ones have been, so that future losses will make present reverses look like the good old days. Either the nation's largest banks and insurance companies, which the carriers collectively owe the bulk of their $11-billion indebtedness, will be left to pick up the tab, or as is more likely, the taxpayer will be obliged to subsidize a basically perverse system.

At the root of the system are senior airline executives who, assisted by cooperative regulatory agencies, historically reason if the guy down the block has a 23-foot car, they've got to have a 23-foot car as well, even if they only have a 14-foot garage. It's not so much a question of keeping up with the Joneses as one of defensive competition to protect company interests, and a compulsion for progress and grandeur.

A potential and extreme example of this pattern,

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which major carriers seriously consider for all its inherent illogic, goes something like this: Air France will be pressured by its majority stockholder, the French government, into purchasing Concorde. Their certain resultant losses will be rationalized by accounting procedures that will fool no one in the industry. Nevertheless, Pan Am, fully aware it too would lose money on every flight having less than an impossibly high load factor, would find it difficult not to buy Concorde because of the loss of prestige in offering only "second best" and the loss of still more revenues from passengers switching to Air France. Caught in similar squeezes, the infection would spread in quick succession to American and TWA and Northwest and United, in roughly that order.

The introduction of the new wide-body DC-10 and L-1011 at this time, and at present tariff levels, is only slightly less absurd. So too is the carriers' eager acceptance of them, as they join with McDonnell-Douglas and Lockheed in praising the operating economies of the new planes' lower unit mile costs, which will presumably enable air fares to be lowered. Indeed that is the prime rationale behind the new wide-body tri-jets, but in the context these planes are to be used, the economies are nonexistent.

This month American and United started DC-10 services. United has outfitted its aircraft with 222 saleable seats, and American has installed even fewer, making cozy configurations that will give the passengers plenty of room, while giving the companies an operating cost per available seat mile about 10 percent above that of the already existing stretch DC-8-61's. The skies may be friendlier, but not cheaper – a condition institutionalized by American's pronouncement that even if business gets so good more seats are needed per plane, the passenger lounges on wide-bodied jets will remain: flights will be added, not seats! In order to offer "competitive luxury" on the now-revived L-1011 air bus, which has high-density capacity of 400 passengers and virtually identical dimensions to the DC-10, it cannot be expected that Delta or Eastern or TWA will put in any more seats, and in view of the present "seat and lounge war" they may put in less. Moreover, to merely maintain present DC-8-61 load factors on either of the new planes, carriers must find additional passengers to fill additional seats – or offer fewer flights – while getting rid of the older planes at respectable prices, which is becoming increasingly difficult in a saturated world market.

Til recently it was a common fallacy among airlines and the Civil Aeronautics Board that competition created demand. That myth is pretty well discredited. One that still has a lot of mileage among the carriers and the CAB is that new aircraft generate new passengers. They may generate new passengers for an individual company having an aircraft its competitors do not have, but "new passengers" for the industry are not created to any meaningful extent, if at all. Therefore, as overall net capacity continues to increase, load-factors will decline from their present low levels, with revenue seat mile costs soaring accordingly – all of this giving rationale for the airlines to demand additional fare increases which, in turn, will further reduce passengers. This is the merry-go-round the airlines and the CAB have been on for years.

On the one hand our skies are filled with wonders of technology and latent economy that are flying about largely empty, while on the other a travel-hungry public stays home (or travels by car), refusing or unable to pay the going rate. It is clear that the thwarted non-flying public should be brought together with the squandered resources of millions of empty passenger seats by lowering fares. But lower fares are an anathema to the carriers, even though by their very nature, the new wide-bodied planes must appeal to a far wider public than is presently accustomed to traveling by air.

These new aircraft *could* fully live up to their advance billing, and Lockheed could probably be bailed out in the process, if airfares were drastically restructured. The L-1011 could, for example, fly without plastic frills and with 330 comfortable seats between New York and Los Angeles at a price of $75 one way, and make a handsome profit with a load-factor of 65 percent. Inconceivable as this sounds, these kinds of figures are not idle conjectures. In practice there are throughout the world existing examples of such economies mutually benefiting traveler and airline. In California Pacific Southwest Airlines, a highly profitable intrastate carrier not regulated by the CAB, has long played havoc with US aviation policies. Flying modern jet aircraft, their one-way fare between Los Angeles and San Francisco is $16.50, tax included; if it were up to the CAB the fare would be twice as high. To compete, United and Western Airlines have had to cut their fares. On the east coast, the much shorter trip between Washington and New York costs $26, and the carriers complain of the route's unprofitability.

The public has been taken for a multibillion dollar ride – and many are no longer riding. Today the airlines are hurting badly: almost all their traditional guidelines – load factors, numbers of passengers, revenue passenger miles – are down from last year. Unseen in the statistics are the personal hardships, holidays not taken, the forestalled reunions of families and friends, resulting from the excessively high cost of air travel. The carriers blame the "air traffic recession" on the flabby state of the economy, on unyielding inflation, on the lack of consumer confidence, on almost everything except high fares. In the light of substantial evidence to the contrary, they steadfastly maintain there is only a slight relationship between fare levels and passenger traffic. In the recently completed year-long domestic passenger fare investigation, the CAB by and large concurred with them, while granting the latest increase – even though

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the CAB's own Bureau of Economic Research advised that the end result of a fare increase would be a loss of total revenues.

The airlines and the CAB are so entrenched in the present system, they can't conceive of a low fare-mass travel approach. The closest the carriers can come to such a notion is the discounted promotional fares that are designed to fill seats which are usually empty, without deterring "full fare" passengers from paying the regular tariff. This is a highly discriminatory trick that results in so many different fares, airline personnel are often confused. The latest of these discount schemes proposed by American, TWA and United, billed as "one of the most significant tariff proposals in recent years," applies to a few long-distance routes under conditions stringent enough to make them irrelevant to most potential travelers, and not affecting basic fare levels in any way; the airlines even stress that inherent to their proposed discounts is an undisturbed fare structure that they insist should be higher still! Through the increased fare and capacity combination, the best the airlines can do is sell a relatively small percentage of their available seats at their regular prices, and merchandise some of the remaining ones. It's a formula for corporate hari-kari that also penalizes the public. If the present trend continues the banks and insurance companies can consider using the new planes for bowling alleys.

Robert Fink

The Potential for Rational Land Use

Unfreezing Alaska

by Peter Barnes

Anchorage

Alaska is unique among the states because of its enormous size, extreme climate and prodigal resources. It is also virtually the only state whose development has not been characterized by the ill-advised giveaway of public lands to speculators and other special interests, with scant regard for social or environmental consequences. Yet, unless immediate steps are taken, this rare good fortune of Alaska, and the opportunity it affords for well-planned development, will be lost.

Until statehood in 1959, over 99 percent of Alaska was owned by the federal government. Most of this land was administered by agencies of the Interior Department, primarily the Bureau of Land Management, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the National Park Service. Other big chunks were managed by the US Forest Service and the military. No land was given away to railroads (the only railroad in Alaska was government-built) and very little to individual settlers, few of whom wanted to stay permanently. Nor were land speculators active in the state after the gold fever subsided early in the century. Most of the state was in fact inhabited only by animals or native Alaskans – Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts – whose right to occupancy of the land was protected by Congress.

World War II and the Korean conflict brought new waves of immigrants to Alaska, most of them associated with the military. Many stayed, and today the population includes 240,000 nonnatives as well as 60,000 natives. The new settlers were less than happy with Alaska's colonial status; they came to believe that federal ownership of the land was the major obstacle to economic development. This obsession swelled into the Statehood Act of 1959, which included the largest single grant of federal land ever made by Congress: the state of Alaska was authorized to select 103 million acres of public land, a bit less than one third of the state's total area, and to dispose of this land as it saw fit. Sales and leases of newly acquired state property, it was anticipated, would open the door to development, and at the same time produce revenue for the fledgling state government.

By the mid-1960s the state had selected about one-quarter of its 103 million acres, mostly along the railroad between Anchorage and Fairbanks, and on Bristol Bay and the North Slope, where great deposits of oil and natural gas were thought to lie. Many of these selections angered the natives, whose concept of territoriality did not, until that point, embrace the notion of exclusive ownership, but who suddenly realized that large bonanzas would fall to others from exploitation of land that had been theirs to use and occupy. The natives threatened to tie up the process of land selection through court action unless they were given legal title to most of the land they lived and hunted and

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fished on. Their protests led Interior Secretary Stewart Udall to suspend, in August 1967, almost all disposals of federal land in Alaska that might be subject to native claims. On January 20, 1969 – his last day in office – Udall strengthened and extended this "land freeze" for another two years, causing the incoming Secretary of the Interior, Alaska Governor Walter Hickel, to remark somewhat intemperately that "what Udall can do by executive order, I can undo." Hickel, however, soon learned that the natives held all the legal aces, and he, too, finally extended the freeze for an additional six months. Hickel's successor, Rogers C. B. Morton, none too happily granted another extension until the end of the present session of Congress, or until passage of a native claims bill, whichever comes first. As things stand now, the administrative land freeze will almost certainly end, one way or the other, by December. And therein lies a potential calamity.

Alaska is no longer the impoverished backwater it remained even after the first years of statehood. In 1968, about a year after Udall's first land freeze, Atlantic-Richfield discovered at Prudhoe Bay "one of the largest petroleum accumulations known to the world today." Since then, major oil companies have poured nearly $2 billion into the state, buying up leases and preparing to carry oil to market. And Prudhoe Bay is just a beginning. There are, in addition, at least a dozen sedimentary basins, plus thousands of miles of continental shelf, that are thought to be bulging with petroleum and natural gas.

Where oil goes, of course, there also go the appurtenances of technology: pipes, derricks, roads, power lines, refineries, motels, hamburger stands and garbage. Also, the land speculators and developers of all sorts, seeking to cash in on the money and manpower that oil development brings. Alaska, in short, is on the verge of economic take-off, and though, because of its sub-zero winters, it will never be a densely populated state, it is in grave danger of being transformed into a garish blend of Route 66 and Kuwait.

Only two things have thus far stopped Alaska from plunging willy-nilly into this type of transformation: environmental objections to the projected Prudhoe Bay-Valdez pipeline, objections which will shortly be resolved to the Interior Department's and the courts' satisfaction; and the land freeze. Once the freeze is lifted, the scramble for land will be on. The state will quickly resume selecting the best lands it can get hold of – mostly where it thinks oil is. At the same time, Alaska's natives will be jockeying with the state to gain title to the choicest parcels, the precise ground rules of the race between the natives and the state to be spelled out in the native claims bill that emerges from Congress. Assorted federal agencies will be after their pieces of the pie: the military, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Park Service. Most eager of all will be the speculators who, under an assortment of antiquated public land laws, will stake claim to almost every piece of valuable property that can be had. The result will be, in the short run, chaos, and in the long run a haphazard and undesirable carving up of the state.

Much of the problem lies with the federal land laws which will come into play once the freeze is removed. Most of these laws date from the nineteenth century, and have little relation to Alaska today. Thus, under the Homestead Act, a person can gain title to a 160 acre parcel of public land simply by residing upon it for five years and cultivating a small portion of it. The original intent of the law was to promote rapid agricultural settlement of the West, with an eye toward democratic distribution of the land; despite many abuses the law worked reasonably well in the Great Plains states. But in Alaska, where farming is virtually impossible outside of a few already-settled valleys, the law makes little sense. Of approximately 700,000 acres in Alaska given away under the Homestead Act prior to the land freeze, only 25,000 acres are actually in agricultural production. The rest are largely held for speculative gain.

The General Mining Law of 1872 is even worse. It allows any person to stake an unlimited number of claims to public land for the purpose of prospecting even in such normally restricted areas as national parks and forests. The person need not actually extract any minerals, or even record his claim with the federal government. If any valuable deposits are eventually found, he may acquire a legal title to the land, and most of the minerals beneath it, upon payment of a nominal sum. Only a small percentage of mining claims in Alaska have actually been explored for minerals, and in several instances the law has been used to claim land within Mount McKinley National Park, Glacier Bay National Monument, and the proposed Gates of the Arctic National Park in the Brooks mountain range.

Another mining law, passed in 1920, directs the Bureau of Land Management to issue noncompetitive oil and gas leases on public lands not geologically proven to contain reserves. The terms are extraordinarily generous: 50 cents an acre per year, for periods of up to ten years. Leases must be awarded to the first qualified applicant, and nearly 10,000 applications in Alaska are awaiting approval upon expiration of the land freeze.

All of these laws, and others like them, have several major deficiencies. They contain no effective safeguards against speculation; clever persons can readily manipulate them to gain control of large areas of land with the sole intent of holding them for future profit. They create a nonsystem that operates on the principle that "he who grabs first, gets." And they preclude any prior determination of the most suitable or socially desirable use of public land: it is individual claimants, rather than any public agency, who determine what

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shall be done with their government-given real estate.

In Alaska, a return to untrammeled implementation of these laws, precisely at the take-off point of an oil development spree, would render all but impossible any subsequent rational land or resource planning. Land around the most scenic lakes and streams, and along logical access routes to important locations, would be gobbled up under various pretexts. Oil and gas royalties that might one day benefit the state or its natives would be cornered by speculators for the price of a few dollars. If, at some later date, a decision was made to reserve a particular area for wildlife or recreation, it might not be possible to evict miners, or oil drillers, whose rights had previously been established, or to dismantle an unsightly subdivision that a "homesteader" had developed on what had once been public property.

Alaska is rich in natural resources. Besides oil and gas, the state abounds with timber and fish, and boasts deposits of copper, coal, iron, mercury, platinum, tin, titanium, tungsten, nickel and beryllium. Equally as valuable as these extractable gifts of nature, indeed more valuable in the long run, are Alaska's undamaged open spaces. The feeling pervades, because Alaska is so big, that each of these resources, including the primitive landscape, can be utilized for private profit and public good. What often is forgotten or overlooked is that all forms of development are not everywhere compatible.

Oil, for example, can be a mixed blessing if not exploited with great restraint. The North Slope discovery will generate huge revenues for the state, at an environmental cost that appears to be relatively low. But recovery of oil in other parts of the state, especially off the stormy and ice-strewn coasts, would gravely imperil Alaska's long-established fisheries.

So, too, with timber. Anxious, apparently, to create new jobs, the US Forest Service has committed itself to clear-cutting nearly every marketable stand of spruce and hemlock in the Tongass National Forest, a magnificent wilderness that extends for 500 miles along the glacier-capped fjords and waterways of southeast Alaska. With careful logging and a willingness to spare the better watersheds, the forest could perhaps be harvested without unduly damaging the streams in which salmon spawn. But salmon runs in parts of southeast Alaska have dropped in recent years, and though no direct cause-and-effect relationship has been proven, many fishermen and biologists suspect the loggers and pulp mills are partly to blame.

Excessive logging, oil production or mining, especially open-pit or strip mining, could similarly have a deleterious effect on Alaska'a recreational potential. A wilderness scarred by tree stumps, oil derricks or gaping holes in the ground will not attract many visitors. In the short run this might not matter too much, but in the long run tourism is likely to be a much steadier source of jobs for Alaskans than mineral extraction. "Oil is a capital-intensive industry that brings with it a penumbra of unemployment," notes one high-ranking state official. "Workers are imported from Texas and Oklahoma to drill wells and get production started; then they are no longer needed. And for every ten who arrive with jobs, another two or three come up to look for jobs and can't find them."

Alaska *is* big enough so that, with careful planning, it probably could extract three-quarters of its saleable resources and still leave most of its terrain unspoiled. The key is to know where to draw the lines, and to start drawing them now. Oil should be declared off-limits in certain areas, such as Bristol Bay and other fishing centers; if a trans-Alaska, rather than a trans-Canada pipeline route is adopted, it would make sense to put the terminus in Cook Inlet, near Anchorage, where oil has already left its mark, rather than jeopardize the virgin waters of Prince William Sound. Recreational areas should be charted and reserved from most forms of commercial or mineral development. One or two major highways should be authorized, but a limit should be placed on roadbuilding, and a decision made to subsidize air and boat travel instead. All this should be done before the oil companies become politically unstoppable (there are only 20 state senators and 40 state representatives in Alaska, easy prey for the droves of oil lobbyists who have begun descending on Juneau), and before no-trespassing signs spring up at every prime location.

The opportunity exists in Alaska to avoid the wanton land giveaways that characterized the westward movement in the lower 48 states. Because Alaska is still largely federally owned, there is even a chance to develop America's last frontier upon a wholly new principle: retention of land as public property, with long-term leases to private parties for authorized uses. Thus a man could lease a lakeside lot for the purpose of building a cabin. He could not resell the lot to a developer, or build a motel on it instead of a cabin. If oil were discovered beneath the property, the royalties, if it were decided to permit drilling, would accrue to the public. Genuine land users, rather than speculators, would thus have access to appropriate land at reasonable prices; the public would profit and retain control of development as well.

Even if America's passion for private ownership is reasserted in the wilds of the arctic, there need be no rush to do so, and there certainly is no logic in doing so before a plan for balanced development can be adopted. Senator Henry M. Jackson (D, Wash.) and Rep. John Saylor (R, Pa.) have proposed extending the land freeze for a period of years until a comprehensive land use plan can be devised. This is the least that can be done to assure that irreparable intrusions are not made into what, 50 years from now, may be one of the few places left on the planet where a man can get close to a mountain or a lake and seek solitude.

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Democrats Still Have the Edge

The Enduring Republican Minority

by Vic Fingerhut

In his report (*NR*, June 5, 1971) on the opening of the LBJ Library in Austin, Texas, John Osborne took note of President Nixon's repeated references to a hoary turn-of-the-century quote of former Indiana Senator Albert Beveridge which urged the abandonment of the "politics of party," and adoption of a "new partisanship of principle." Not long after the Austin opening, Nixon met with 170 state legislators assembled in Washington for a briefing on the administration's welfare reform proposals and prefaced his remarks by saying that "the subjects we will be discussing don't have a partisan label." The Johnson gala followed by exactly one week the President's dramatically forced showdown on the Mansfield amendment to reduce US troop strength in Europe, in which the President moved well beyond the rhetoric of nonparty partisanship and publicly rallied an array of Democratic Party notables, including not only former Presidents Truman and Johnson, but such some-time GOP whipping boys as Dean Acheson and Nicholas Katzenbach.

The administration's post-1970 effort to downgrade the "partisanship of party" reflects an acute awareness of the potency of party attachments and of the GOP's failure to make a perceptible dent in the nation's predominant Democratic majority after two-and-a-half years in office. This failure was sharply revealed during the 1970 campaign, in which the Republicans launched an extraordinary and unprecedented bid to reshape fundamentally the party loyalties of the American electorate. They failed. But the Nixon goal of carving out a new Republican majority, much as Franklin Roosevelt did for the Democrats more than 30 years ago, has not been abandoned, only deferred. Meanwhile, Nixon is crucially dependent in 1972 on the votes of millions of self-identified Democrats, north and south, and the present effort to downgrade the "politics of party" is thus an urgent matter.

For the over 70 percent of the American electorate who identify themselves as Democrats or Republicans, an individual's party identification remains the most important single factor influencing how he will vote. Although it has become fashionable to downplay the durability of party loyalty, the hard electoral facts tell another story.

In 1968 Richard Nixon received an overwhelming 86 percent of the votes of those calling themselves Republicans, but only nine percent of the nation's self-identified Democrats. Similarly, while faced with the highest level of party defection in recent times, Hubert Humphrey nonetheless got the election day support of over 70 percent of Democratic voters throughout the nation, according to Gallup, and only less than ten percent among persons describing themselves as Republicans. Outside the South, Humphrey received nearly nine out of ten votes cast by Democrats!

There has been a perceptible growth in the number of self-identified Independents in recent years, mostly among the young and voters in the South, but the increase has been greatly overstated: between 1950 and 1970, the number of Americans calling themselves "independents" rose only four percent (22 to 26).

The GOP attempt to use the 1970 congressional elections to force the issue of party loyalty represents one of the most intriguing episodes in recent American political history. Republicans made no bones about what they were up to. "We are going to reverse this nation's 35-year old Democratic majority," Vice President Agnew said, "and replace it with a Republican majority which will dominate the final third of this century, as the Democrats have dominated the middle third." It was a bold gamble, especially in the South, where the GOP has always scrupulously downplayed references to party attachments during campaigns. The daring decision to raise the party issue in Dixie was a logical outgrowth of Kevin Phillips' thesis, which interpreted the massive 1968 Wallace vote as the largest, single new ingredient of an "emerging Republican majority." A sharp, frontal assault on the Democratic Party in the South was launched. Republicans sought to link southern Democrats, including many of the center and right, to a pro-black, soft on law-and-order, "radical-liberal" national party. A striking illustration of this unconventionally brazen approach appeared on Republican billboards dotting country roads in traditionally Democratic, but heavily Wallace-voting, counties of eastern North Carolina: You haven't left the Democratic Party – the Democratic Party has left you.

Outside the South, the Republicans were no less aggressive. Speaking in Erie, Pennsylvania late in October, Agnew dramatically confronted Keystone State voters with the fundamental issue of party and party

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loyalties: "Our party was long ago known as the party of big business in the east and west; it is that no longer. The workingman is the forgotten man of American politics, but he is not forgotten by the President of the United States. It is the Republicans who are the party of the workingmen and women. . . ."

In neither place did the Republican message find many takers. In North Carolina Democrats increased their already large lead in the state legislature and rolled up impressive victories in areas captured by George Wallace two years earlier. Similarly blue-collar precincts throughout Pennsylvania returned their normally large Democratic pluralities and Republican gubernatorial candidate, Raymond Broderick, with whom Agnew had been touring, was soundly defeated by Democrat Milton Shapp. Even Republican Senator Hugh Scott, widely thought a shoo-in, captured only 51 percent of the vote, although for media advertising he had massively outspent his Democratic opponent, William Sesler ($600,000 to $35,000).

With few exceptions, the Republican failure to change the normal patterns of party strength in North Carolina and Pennsylvania was repeated elsewhere in the nation. A four-seat GOP gain in the Senate was offset by strong Democratic successes at the state-house level and a Democratic pickup of nine seats in the House of Representatives. The elections could only be described as a stand-off.

Kevin Phillips notwithstanding, the southern Wallace vote in 1970 proved a highly unreliable ally for the Republicans. Working against the GOP were durability of traditional Democratic loyalties, and the inherent difficulty of blending upper-middle-class Republicanism of the new urban and suburban South with the heavily anti-establishment Wallace vote.

Phillips himself had recognized (and fretted about) the latter problem in *The Emerging Republican Majority*, whose pages reek with fear of the revival of traditional Democratic economic populism in the South. Curiously, it was George Wallace, in many respects the most sensitive observer of a broad range of popular feelings in America, who first exploited the potential cleavage in the still-to-be-formed GOP coalition. With telling effect, Wallace lambasted Alabama's GOP "country club set" which, under the direct administration guidance of Postmaster General Winton Blount had supported Governor Albert Brewer's effort to defeat Wallace in the first Alabama gubernatorial primary last spring. A similar populist line, minus the racism, was later successfully used against the GOP by such diverse Democrats as Georgia's Jimmy Carter, Lawton Chiles and Reubin Askew in Florida, and Arkansas' Dale Bumpers. Even South Carolina Democratic gubernatorial candidate John West and Texas' Lloyd Bentsen, neither a "populist," were able to turn back high-powered-GOP challengers by blasting the "high interest rate, high unemployment" policies of the national Republican administration.

The only significant "southern strategy" successes for the GOP in 1970 were in Tennessee and Virginia, with Republican Congressman W. E. Brock's victory over Tennessee's Albert Gore the most widely-hailed victory. Tennessee, however, has traditionally been the most Republican of the southern or border states. And Brock got barely half, if that, of the 1968 Wallace vote. Considering that Gore had done just about everything possible to antagonize the Wallace vote, including opposing both the Haynsworth and Carswell nominations, supporting gun control legislation, pressing an aggressively dovish stand on Vietnam and standing in opposition to the school prayer amendment, Brock's break-even showing with Wallace voters offers little encouragement to the GOP. Indeed, in the light of the Georgia, Florida and Arkansas results, David Halberstam's post-election characterization of Gore as "the last populist" is an overstatement.

In Virginia the Republicans had even less to crow about, as the bulk of the state's 1968 Wallace vote went to Harry Byrd Jr., scion of the long-established Virginia Democratic dynasty, with the remainder going to the fund-starved candidacy of liberal-populist Democrat George Rawlings. The GOP senatorial candidate received less than 10 percent of Virginia's 1968 Wallace vote. In sum, the South in 1970 refused to confirm Kevin Phillips' confident prediction that nearly the entire 14 percent Wallace vote would be added to Nixon's 43 percent vote, thus forming the basis of a (57 percent) Republican majority.

The Republicans fared little better in 1970 with their second target group: the urban ethnic voter in the North, who by and large stayed Democratic. The only significant exceptions came in Senate contests in Connecticut and New York. Here deep cleavages between liberal-reform elements (largely upper middle class, college educated, and Jewish and WASP in composition) and (heavily Catholic, and noncollege educated) party regulars prompted large numbers of ethnics to take a walk from official Democratic nominees and support the Conservative and Independent candidacies of James Buckley and former Democratic Senator Thomas Dodd. Even in these two states, however, ethnic voters continued to support Democratic candidates at the congressional level, as they did elsewhere in the Northeast and throughout the industrial Midwest.

Thus despite the spirited attempt of Vice President

COMING: the presidential candidacy of Henry the Hawk Jackson

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Agnew and other Republicans to pin the elitist tag on the Democratic Party and stake out a new GOP claim as the "party of the American workingman," the grip of Democratic loyalties held surprisingly firm.

Nixon's Austin rhetoric, as reported by John Osborne, stands not as an isolated episode, but as an integral part of a broader Republican effort, given the failure of 1970, to defuse the politics of party. It is within this broader context that the appointment of Governor John Connally as Secretary of the Treasury assumes its significance. When Connally was first appointed, Nixon commented that it represented "something fundamental." It does, and it stretches far beyond Texas' 26 electoral votes. GOP strategy in the South, while not neglecting the large Wallace vote, has now moved to strengthen its position for 1972 in other directions. It seeks to reestablish an alliance with the centrist pillars of the southern Democratic establishment which the Republicans had so sharply attacked. Several other administration moves signal a hoped-for truce with the leadership of the Democratic South, including the semi-secret White House visit of former Virginia Governor Mills Godwin at the time of the rumored retirement of Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, and most recently, the appointment of a member of the South Carolina Democratic establishment to a vacant federal judgeship in that state.

In both the Connally and South Carolina appointments, the administration overrode the strong objections of local Republicans, and in South Carolina that meant Strom Thurmond. In Texas a further element in the partisan defusing process was the post-election removal from the Texas scene of defeated Republican Bush who was dispatched to New York as Ambassador to the United Nations.

While the politics of party are to be shunned, Senator Beveridge warned, "the partisan of principle is the prince of citizenship." Here one confronts the offensive element in what otherwise would be a totally defensive GOP pitch. While Democrats outnumber Republicans by 3-2 in the United States, polls simultaneously disclose a strong plurality of self-identified "conservatives" over "liberals" by about the same proportion. If the Republicans can persuade the American electorate to equate "conservatism" with Republicanism, and "liberalism" with the Democratic Party, the much hoped for GOP majority would be there. But unfortunately for the Republicans, ideological thinking (and voting) are relatively rare among all but a limited number of better-educated subgroups within the American electorate. This explains why it remains possible to have a Democratic majority and a conservative majority in the country at the same time, even excluding the South. Party identification, more than ideological self-description, has proved to be the more potent influence on voting habits.

Open Schools – I

The British and Us

by Joseph Featherstone

By now the American interest in British primary schools is one distinct and powerful stream in a growing, turbulent, movement for "open" informal schools – a movement which includes such diverse figures as John Holt and the head of New York City's teachers union, Albert Shanker. Certain features of the English reforms are familiar. They have been pointed out by me in *Schools Where Children Learn* (Liveright), by Charles Silberman in his massive Carnegie study, *Crisis in the Classroom* (Random House), by Liza and Casey Murrow in their useful and neglected book, *Children Come First* (American Heritage Press), and by Lillian Weber's excellent *The English Infant School and Informal Education* (Prentice-Hall). Let me run through the familiar features quickly and then discuss some less familiar points.

Although there are many prophets rising in our land, there is no educational Gospel. What good British practitioners have to offer is the fairly widespread and promising beginnings of an alternative approach to teaching, an approach which for all its drawbacks – and there are many – seems closer than conventional, formal methods to what we know about children and the nature of the learning process. The most impressive

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aspect of the British experience is the way ordinary teachers in different kinds of schools are coming to share a common approach and vision of what they should be aiming at, even though the quality of teaching and children's work may vary greatly. No one, I hope, imagines that it is either possible or desirable to transplant British practices whole to America. Our traditions and institutions are different; good American practice along these lines will spread slowly and in ways unique to American classrooms.

American enthusiasts need to remember that only something like a third of British schools are working along informal lines, that these tend to cluster in a handful of local authorities where informal methods are a reigning orthodoxy, and that the approach has spread farthest in the infant schools. Schools working with older children are doing excellent and significant work in a few places and we have much to learn from them, but too often education in the later years of British primary schools resembles the standard dreary fare of the later years of our elementary schools. Partly this lag is a chronological matter: reforms started with young children and are working slowly upward. Partly, too, it reflects real difficulties in organizing active learning for older children. In *Experience and Education* – written in the wake of some of the excesses of "progressive" schools – John Dewey pointed to recurring difficulties with older children: "It is harder to find out the background of the experiences of individuals and harder to find out just how the subject-matters already contained in that experience shall be directed so as to lead out to larger and better-organized fields." Selecting and organizing good, open-minded curriculum problems are challenging the better British junior schools, and there are other problems as well – for instance, the appropriate use of specialist teachers in informal settings.

The slow progress of the junior schools can also be partially accounted for by pressure from tests and an inflexible secondary school system. Those promoting informal education in both England and America should be frank to admit that in neither country is there emerging any work on the secondary level to compare with the emerging vision of what a good primary school should look like. In both countries there are deep and often contradictory criticisms of the secondary schools, but there is no clear sense of a proper direction for reform. (It is curious that the recent "Black Paper" educational debates in England – over whether secondary schools should be comprehensive, and whether "progressive" methods have been watering down the traditional curriculum in secondary schools – have continued to focus public attention on secondary schools; the profound changes taking place in the primary schools continue to be largely ignored.)

American admirers of informal education should also remember that England remains, like America, a caste-ridden capitalist social order. A morbid visitor to England can track down many schools, particularly in slum and immigrant areas, that are failing in exactly the way our slum schools fail. Nonetheless, many British schools working informally are doing a good job teaching poor children; such schools exist, they are possible. Within the sharp limits of an unequal social order, many British primary schools are creating decent environments for a broad range of young children – not the children of the extremely wealthy or the extremely poor, but the children of the lower-middle and working class. That is not the social millenium – schools rarely bring millenia – but it is impressive.

A number of observers have noted that the characteristic innovations in British primary schools were first worked out over the years in a handful of progressive nursery schools run by followers of Montessori, the MacMillans, the Isaacs, Dewey and Piaget. Thus for some time it has seemed natural for good English teachers to relate teaching practice to basic theories of young children's development. The ideas of developmental psychology have been in the air, matching classroom practice. Yet while a body of intertwined theory and pedagogical practice is appearing, teachers and principals successful in practice are sometimes unable to clearly formulate their aims. The best educational practice far outstrips the best current theory. The lesson of good British schools is not that theory is unimportant, but that it can be of practical use only when it has a living relationship with teachers and children; without an intimate link to the realm of practice, theory grows abstract and sterile, academic in the bad sense of the word.

Emerging slowly from work in good British schools is the initial, tentative outline of what may one day be articulated as a unified approach to children's learning throughout the curriculum. It has been developed by teachers in classrooms, not handed down fullblown by curriculum planners and outside experts. The practitioners emphasize different things, but they would probably agree on something like this: Teachers should assume that childhood is something to be cherished, which does not mean sentimentalized or catered to. Good teachers start with the lives of children here and now, and proceed from their experiences toward more disciplined inquiry. Teaching is more effective if teachers can find out where the learner is, by watching him in action and talking with him; learning is more effective if it grows out of the interests of the learner. (And of course interests are not just there, like

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flowers waiting to bud: they are formed and cultivated by good teaching.) Experience and theory suggest that active learning is better than passive rote. Giving children choices within a planned environment helps them develop initiative, competence and an ability to think for themselves. A good curriculum offers children knowledge worth learning. It is essential that children learn reading skills, for example, but they must also see the point of being literate, taking an interest in books and knowing how to use them. Teaching practice ought to reflect the enormous diversities among children, treating them as individuals, and proceeding, when possible, from their strengths, rather than from their weaknesses. For this reason and not for any intrinsic merits in openness or informality, teachers ought to be able, as much as possible to set informal schedules, physical arrangements, and patterns of grouping and instruction. No technique of teaching or organizational change is as important as the normal social and emotional context of learning, for the ordinary relationships among children and between adults and children are of supreme importance. Much learning in a good educational setting receives direction and takes shape in the course of ordinary conversation.

The aim of the enterprise is to influence students to become thinking, autonomous, sensitive people. Good teachers work with a mental picture of the qualities of a good thinker: confidence, concentration and an ability to make informed, rather than haphazard guesses and estimates; mental habits of synthesizing ideas and making analogies; the capacity to communicate thoughts and feelings in various ways.

Put in such terms all this is familiar, perhaps too familiar. This is still the theory preached in many of our schools of education. To American practitioners it must seem a counsel of perfection and therefore of despair. Administrators and teachers often understand these principles, but seldom feel able to put them into practice. A host of what are seen as necessary evils – tests, tracks, discipline, the imperatives of administration – overwhelms the schools.

The question is the extent to which the evils are necessary. As a practical matter, the framework in which these principles are slowly being turned into practice is curriculum reform. The hypothesis is that in the right sort of setting ordinary teachers and children can do without many of the formal structures of schools. But the hypothesis will stand or fall by whether teachers and children have important, useful things to do with their freedom. This is why the most significant part of the British reforms may be the working out of a new conception of the school curriculum. The pamphlet series "Informal Schools in Britain Today" (Citation Press, NY) consists of practitioners' accounts of work in areas such as art, music, mathematics, and children's writing. Such detailed description is vital for understanding. Here I can only draw together a few important points.

In music, for example, we have scattered hints of young children's ability to understand and work with basic musical structures. In movement, math and writing, common threads in good practice are becoming more distinct. Whatever the subject, there is an emphasis on active learning and engagement with materials. Teaching starts with children's experiences and moves them toward more disciplined effort. There is a stress on expressiveness and a variety of ways of communicating different sorts of knowledge, including the kind of knowledge of the inner and outer worlds we associate with art. Work in one area spills over into other areas.

Too many accounts – including my own – have not sufficiently stressed the aims and objectives of informal teaching. If we are concerned with creating a school atmosphere in which children can flourish, then we are talking about all parts of school life – a whole approach to children and their learning. This means considering everything from subjects and patterns of administration and discipline to school lunches, playgrounds, and the use of space: the whole intellectual and human environment. This need for a whole approach is one reason why experienced informal practitioners are often suspicious of piecemeal descriptions of good practice. They worry about the natural human tendency to seize upon a bit of apparatus or a technique developed in one classroom and apply it to a new situation without any consideration of the ends it was supposed to serve. Being as concrete as possible is helpful, for concreteness makes descriptions vivid, without turning them into a formula.

In thinking about the school as a whole physical environment, Americans may want to look at developments in British school architecture, where the design of new buildings reflects how informal practitioners actually use space, not the way architects hope space will be used in the future. Generally those in America who decide on school plans are architects, administrators and school board officials – never practicing teachers. In recent years many American school boards have been building "open plan" schools without dividing walls, often designed by architects who are trying to force traditional teachers' hands and dictate informality and freedom. This is an obvious reversal of sound practice. Open school designs ought to serve practitioners, not dictate to them. (Similarly, organizational patterns such as "team teaching" ought to evolve out of working relationships among congenial practitioners in a school, not be imposed on them by outside authority.) Architectural openness is not at all the same thing as informal teaching. Witness what happens in most of our new open plan buildings, where teachers and children huddle together in the great, cavernous structures, trying to build imaginary walls around themselves, and where teaching methods remain as formal as ever. American en-

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thusiasts of open plan architecture should also note that there are disagreements among English teachers and principals on the desirability of the newer, more radically open plan buildings. Some practicioners insist on the merits of individual classrooms or at least defined home spaces for the younger children and they argue for what might be called "openable" plan buildings: flexible space with plenty of opportunities to build in privacy, as well as for cooperation.

It is in such practical areas as curriculum and the use of space that the possibilities of extending informal approaches are being worked out. Yet there is no reason to think that a trend which is good is all the better if taken to its logical conclusion. A sympathetic British critic of the reforms, Mr. Richard Palmer, rightly warns that, "This fallacy of the logical conclusion bedevils a good deal of progressive educational thinking, as teachers, being human, seize on a currently fashionable practice and decide to go one better, often against their teaching judgment."

Good informal practitioners might reply to Mr. Palmer and other critics that they do not consider their classrooms "unstructured" – insisting that good environments are "structured" in space and in many other ways, if not always in time. But his point is well taken. He is right in thinking that slow, careful progress is better than the exhausting and often pointless pendulum swing to radical educational reform, then back to angry reaction.

We could all proceed more wisely if we had better notions of how to evaluate learning in informal settings, but we don't. Many British practitioners are now at a point where they feel they should be developing better ways of keeping track of children. Again, Mr. Palmer makes a sensible observation: "Where measurable outcomes only are assessed, it often seems to turn out that schools using modern methods of organization in the teaching of reading or mathematics do no better than schools working on more traditional lines. Such findings leave us a little less confident that we know all the answers. Could it be, however, that some of these findings have in principle a single explanation, namely, that in the progressive schools in these samples, the unstructuring has been pushed beyond a point where keeping track is possible?"

A common complaint of Americans confronted with the example of the British reforms is the absence of measurable objectives. Our critics can perform a useful service if they nudge British practitioners out of what often seems a complacent romanticism. On the other hand, if the British lack rigor, we lack many examples of good practice; far too many of our school systems have emphasized conventional measurement and ignored children's learning: forgetting the principle that children and teachers do not get any heavier for being weighed.

On measurable achievement in conventional tests, children in formal British schools do slightly better than children in informal schools, though uniformly the differences are very slight. This is not surprising: formal schools teach children to take tests. The surprising thing to me is that the test results are so similar. Charles Silberman's *Crisis in the Classroom* summarizes several decades of research on informal as opposed to formal schools, drawing on studies of American "progressive" schools in the past, as well as contemporary British schools. All the studies draw similar conclusions: there is generally no important difference between formal and informal schooling in terms of mastery of conventional subjects. "Progressive" students show up better than formally taught students in those characteristics that "progressive" schools value: initiative, critical thinking, ability to express oneself in writing, capacity to pursue a task on one's own and so on. This research is a tangled morass, but from it we know that there is no evidence that reducing the amount of formal control over students impairs conventional academic skills. On the other hand, it is plainly impossible to make inflated claims for informal teaching in terms of conventional test scores.

We do need new kinds of diagnostic tests in many areas, but tests are a side issue. We need different values, too. In evaluating a reading program, we certainly want to test children's skills, but we also have to push past that narrow kind of measurement to broader questions: do the children like reading? Do they pursue particular interests in books? Can they read for a purpose? Has the reading program strengthened their mastery of language and built on it, or has it weakened it? And, most important, is reading part of a whole environment that encourages children to become thinking, sensitive, autonomous people?

One important set of preconditions for the English reforms that American observers have neglected is the particular institutional ethos in British primary schools, a subtle blend of independence for principals and teachers, along with a great deal of active support and the encouragement of a healthy professionalism. This blend of independence and support should interest the growing number of Americans concerned with reforming the pathological professionalism of our educators. Some have suggested that this institutional ethos is a reflection of English national character and tradition and therefore not for export, and this is partly true. No one is suggesting that British administrative patterns can be stamped on American school systems. But since the ways they administer education contribute to healthy environments for teachers and children, we should understand them. The argument that these practices are not simply an emanation from the English landscape, is strengthened somewhat by the fact that there remain in England many rigidly administered schools, facing the same problems as ours. And, as Maurice Kogan has pointed out, other

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social services in England tend to be administered in an authoritarian, top-down fashion, quite unlike the practice in good schools. Thus even within the English context, there is something extraordinary about the good primary schools.

In a world increasingly organized into large bureaucracies, an entire nation's school system is attempting with some success to give teachers and principals a mixture of support and autonomy. Within a generation, a decent and humane atmosphere has begun to prevail in a powerful cohort of primary schools. These schools set the pace, so that a majority of primary schools are touched by the mood, even if they don't completely share it. These developments run counter to how schools are organized in most countries. In most, a school is an outpost of a public administration system; it is not thought of primarily as an environment for children and teachers. Controls are external, the assumption being that the normal pattern of learning is something close to rote. Procedures are laid down from the top. The opposite assumption is that teachers working with children ought to be the prime agents making decisions, and that the proper locus of such decisions is the classroom; that procedures should flow out of relationships between teachers and children.

The traditional autonomy of British principals was important in bringing about some of these changes, but by itself was not sufficient: British principals enjoyed freedom for many years, and for many years schools remained the same. There had to be support, and a sense of professional movement. A class of people emerged whose exact role is hard to describe: "advisers" is perhaps the best general term. They are experienced teachers and specialists, agents for spreading change: people skilled at helping without bossing. Variants of the advisory role are being tried out now in America, but we are apt to forget that the British advisories spring from a professional context. In America simply appointing advisers – and we do not yet have many good teachers experienced at informal work – may mean adding another layer of nonteaching bureaucracy on the administrative coral reef. Indeed the most important "advisory" figure in most good English schools is the principal – whose title, significantly, is "head teacher."

It would be easy to idealize the role of an English principal, and easy to forget that autonomy granted to incompetents and petty tyrants can be a mixed blessing. But the sense of what a principal's job ought to be comes through clearly from conversations with good English heads. They see themselves first and foremost as supporters and catalysts for the continued growth of their teaching staff. Many teach classes; those who can't, spend much of their day working in classrooms with teachers and children. They were chosen, among other things, for their ability to provide good examples of ways of working with children, for their talent in leading a teaching staff, not administering a plant.

There is a general misapprehension in America that all kids and teachers need is for administrators to get off their backs. That is certainly a first step, but it will not necessarily promote the kind of careful growth over time that ordinary teachers are capable of when they can get support. I'm not saying the help always has to come from a principal – I'm not much of an admirer of "great man" theories of institutional reform – and clearly it can come from other teachers or advisers. But it has been an immense gain for English teachers that the role of the principal has evolved in the directions I've described. The relative absence of this kind of leadership by principals in our schools is one important reason why, although you see a growing number of informal American classrooms, you rarely encounter an entire American school environment working successfully in an informal fashion. Of course you find able American principals. But our systems do nothing to encourage them, as good principals are the first to say. The priorities of our system are on administration, at the expense of teachers, children and parents.

American readers must wonder what British parents make of all these reforms. There is no doubt that British schools feel rather smugly insulated from parental pressures or public opinion. No doubt, too, this has had a bearing on their readiness to work out new approaches. My impression is that freedom for principals and teachers within the walls of a school is more important than insulation from parents altogether, which of course is neither desirable nor possible in America.

Parents in both countries frequently approve of informal approaches if they understand them, and if they have confidence in the people implementing them. That assertion may have a naive ring to some embattled American administrators; it is nonetheless true. I'm aware of the excesses of the Right, of the anger and suspicion between professionals and parents in our ghettos. But in every case I know of where sound education is going on in America – including the best of the community-controlled schools – it is recognized that all parties to the educational process – children, parents, professionals and the general community – have rights and obligations. There the pendulum has swung too far in one direction; where professionals are hiding behind administrative structures to keep parents out, as in so many of our big-city systems, the balance has to be restored. Where parents seek to dictate teaching practices, even in the name of "open education," another balance has to be evened.

As ideological battle lines sharpen we may forget the obvious point once made to me by a principal in a ghetto school: "If you aren't serving parents in

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a way that makes sense to them, you'd better close down." This holds for England as well as America. Some critics in England are beginning to argue that the remoteness of the schools from parents is bad, particularly in schools dealing with poor and immigrant children. Participation may be the issue of the '70s for England, as well as America.

This discussion of parents has, I hope, indicated some of the distance between ourselves and the English, suggesting the need for very different paths to the creation of good schools. America is not England (we keep forgetting how big and various this country is, how different the educational climate from place to place). In some areas, our professionals are encouraged to act. In others, they need to forge alliances with parents and other community groups in order to move in any direction at all. In still others, parents and outside institutions – new forms of teachers' colleges, for example – are attempting to link up with willing teachers, bypassing sluggish school bureaucracies. In still others – the most tragically desperate situations – parent and community groups confront immoveable school systems all alone. Tactics will vary, and the English example will be of no direct help.

It should, however, be an indirect reminder that our schools characteristically emphasize administration at the expense of teaching. Physically, our schools are too big, and need to be broken down into humanly manageable units. Institutionally, their priorities are badly twisted. Why are there separate training programs for elementary school administrators in our education schools? Why is it an exception, rather than the rule, for people who have distinguished themselves as teachers to enter the administrative ranks? This separation of administration from practice is, like the separation of theory from practice, sterile.

For many reasons, some of them buried deep in our history, there are too many people in our overadministered school systems not directly involved with principals, teachers and children. American teachers thus have the worst of two worlds: they are constantly being harassed by the administration and they are lonely in their work. A good school – be it in a suburb or a community-controlled ghetto district – would give them a mixture of autonomy and support so they may grow as professionals.

Amid the grinding factionalism and rising cries for vengeance, this may seem a remote and utopian ideal. But it is worth keeping in long-run perspective, as desperation prompts us to consider more extreme alternatives. Demolishing our great, useless administrative superstructure is a necessary first step toward reconstructing our schools; but demolition itself will do nothing to promote a common vision of good teaching. It has to be accompanied by what I am sure will be misunderstood if I call it a humane bureaucracy, people to help. Otherwise it is unlikely that a renewed professionalism, truly serving clients, can ever come forth. I'm in deep sympathy with attempts to decentralize schools and other institutions, to restore varieties of control and participation where participation can mean something – particularly at the level of individual schools. At the same time, whatever our short-run tactics, the long-run tactics, the long-term issue is clear: in many areas of our national life the issue is not whether to have administration, bureaucracies and professionals, but whether it is possible to create bureaucracies and professions that are humane and responsible to clients.

Schools are always part of a much wider scene. We have emerged from a period when professionalization of a certain kind grew apace, with little consideration of ends to be served. Our vast and complicated educational apparatus, with its machinery for credentialing teachers and administrators, is, as Charles Silberman puts it, mindless in its workings. It is, however, only an extreme instance of a social order that characteristically drifts from accident to accident. The debate on the purposes of education that Silberman and others have opened up is part of a broader discussion of the ends and purposes of professionalism and the social order itself – a debate made all the more bitter and unpromising by the confrontations of black, minority and poor groups with professionals. Attempts to remake the schools to serve the public are paralleled by attempts to reorder other unresponsive institutions: university and corporate reform, the growth of public service law and, in the field of medicine, developments such as community health care, a new focus on social and environmental issues, and the demand for new priorities in dispensing services. Where these new demands will take us, nobody knows. A continuing problem will be squaring legitimate new demands with legitimate older values: academic freedom and the pursuit of disinterested scholarship in the universities, traditional professional autonomy in medicine and professional and union rights in education. In the process, traditions worth preserving will be threatened, at the same time that indefensible vested interests will be unmasked.

For those fighting the battles for the schools, it will be helpful to keep in mind that one of the several failures of that ambiguous movement known as progressive education was that it became, in the end, so exclusively a professional affair. From today's perspective, one of the most striking features of the public school wing of the movement was its coincidence in the extension of the bureaucratic and professional structures that now make our schools intolerably unresponsive. The rhetoric was all for individual growth; the main concern, in too many places, was administration. One lesson from the recent past is that no American educational reform movement can survive without vigorous lay support; it is vital both politically and intellectually.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

The Go-Between
(Columbia)

The Devils
(Warner Bros.)

Some novels are remembered chiefly for their opening lines. Muriel Spark's *The Girls of Slender Means:* "Long ago in 1945 all the nice people in England were poor, allowing for exceptions." Even more memorable, L. P. Hartley's *The Go-Between:* "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there." (Note that both these lines are nostalgic!) The latter is also the opening utterance, by an unseen speaker, in Joseph Losey's film of Hartley's novel.

And that's the most rewarding aspect of the film, its visit to a foreign country in which "we" once lived. That country is the summer of 1900 – the time is the real geography. But the physical locality is a stately home in the English countryside near Norwich. Losey exploits so many details of costume and custom so well that we are plunged into the scale and rhythm and airiness of that home's upper-class life, so eternally secure for such a short eternity.

The story is of a doomed love affair as witnessed by a thirteen-year-old boy whose experience conveys the requisite information to us but who doesn't himself understand the matter until much later. The boy goes to stay with a school chum in the great house and is employed as a secret "postman" between the chum's older sister and a young farmer. The two are having an affair, despite the fact that the sister is engaged, to a lord.

Losey, like Visconti whom he evidently admires, is good at crystalizing detail: the croquet, the hammock, the Sunday bell-ringers, the Sunday prayers in the household with the servants, the village cricket match, the Norwich market. It's an almost palpable re-creation of a past environment, and that environment is the film's real achievement, not the drama enacted within it. In fact, the "feel" is so fine that it increases our eventual disappointment: the picture comes at last to so little that we become a bit resentful of (let's call it) the build-up. If style and form are to be the content, very well; but then why pretend to content?

A great deal of nonsense has been written about Harold Pinter's screenplay. As a Pinter admirer, I deplore his getting praise – as well as blame – he doesn't deserve. The dialogue has been garlanded with compliments for its rhythmic sensitivity, lyricism, and flavor. By my estimate, about 98 percent of the dialogue comes directly from Hartley's book. Pinter's job has been principally to select and compress, in a manner no better or worse than several dozen other professionals might have done. The one exceptional touch is the way he has handled the narrator – the adult "today" who was the boy then. Hartley begins and ends with him; Pinter begins with the man's voice only, then slips in quick flashes of him, in the present, on a pilgrimage to his past. These flashes gradually become longer and more explicit, the man's face eventually becomes visible (Michael Redgrave), and at the end, he has a brief scene with the heroine, now very old.

This is hardly an original device. Just one instance: Griffith used something like it in *Way Down East* (1920) to fix the point toward which his story was traveling before it got there. Here Pinter uses it very adroitly, making sure that all stops are pulled out for the *temps perdu* diapason.

Yet this adroitness, too, only adds to the ultimate thinness. What is this film about? Are we to be wrung by the stupidity of class barriers? Today? If the novel had been written by Henry Green or I. Compton-Burnett – let alone Lawrence or James – the resonance might have been immense; here it is shallow. Is it the *frisson* of the schoolboy "curse?" (The boy has a passion for witchcraft and concocts a curse. At the end the aged heroine says that her grandson, who is also the grandson of the farmer, seems to think he's under a curse.) But that's just a cheap vaudeville "snapper" – third-rate Saki.

There is only one small resolution for the story. The narrator is today an emotionally withered man, unmarried, presumably because of the events he witnessed as a child. ("You flew too near the sun and you were scorched.") Here Losey italicizes what Hartley left implicit and what Pinter simply took from Hartley in his (published) screenplay. In the film the discovery of the lovers *in flagrante delicto* is flagrant indeed. But what does *that* come to? Is this whole intricate story simply the explanation of the narrator's trauma? This gives it the specific gravity of any Hitchcock psychopathic film about a Liebes-trauma.

Most of the time, Losey has directed it well, with much of his characteristic

(continued on page 33)

Films Worth Seeing

Carnal Knowledge. Skilled surgeon Jules Feiffer operates on the US tail-chasing male – with some wit but the patient dies. Jack Nicholson is good though not the Bronxite he's meant to be. Mike Nichols' direction is fine: clear, cool, controlled.

The Hired Hand. An attempt to capture, in visual ballad form, the changing of the Old West, where men fared alone, into a west of families and farms. Sometimes precious, often lovely. Verna Bloom is an earthy farm wife. Peter Fonda, merely earnest as the husband, does better with his directing. (His directing debut.)

The Clowns. A memoir by Federico Fellini of his love for a disappearing act. Sentimental but endearing. Interviews with old clowns, recreations of old acts, and Fellini himself. If you know children who won't mind Italian dialogue with subtitles, it's certainly for them, too.

Little Big Man. Dustin Hoffman in the Old West, too, as both a white man and an Indian, which enables him to live to 121! The antiwhite moralizing in Arthur Penn's direction is a bit heavy, but there's some picaresque sweep.

Walkabout. Except for a gruesome suicide near the start (and a more touching one near the end), a perfect picture for children. A prettily photographed story of two Australian youngsters – an adolescent girl and younger brother – who get lost in the desert and are befriended by an enchanting teenage aborigine. Parents of small children will probably want to investigate it first, but it's worth the trouble. SK

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Poems of a Prosaist

The Collected Poetry of Aldous Huxley Edited by Donald Watt.

(Harper and Row; $7.50)

Aldous Huxley's poetry is not very interesting, but it is right that it should be collected and published as a whole, and the occasion is worth a modest salute.

In all civilized communities, literary taste is bound to be, to some extent, institutionalized. A writer's work, even his minor work, will be gathered and published, and there will be a modest profit for those who do the gathering and publishing, even when he is manifestly not a living presence, when his words have no reverberation in living minds. So long as they once did! If there was ever a time when a generation of readers hurried out to buy each new book of this writer's because they felt that his work engaged itself directly with life as they were trying to live it. If he once passed into the bloodstream of his age to that extent, then he is of permanent interest, a 'classic,' however tiny his stature within the gigantic Parthenon of classics. His scattered writings will be published; libraries will order them so that their shelves will be complete; and, since they are available in libraries, they will be looked at by people confirming an old impression, or writing memoirs or theses; they will enter a twilight life that is better – every writer must feel – than no life at all.

Of course, given the vastness of literature and the enormous numbers who have tried their hand at writing, the proportion of writers who attain even this Hades-life is microscopic. That is why, in the last few years, I have felt a quiet satisfaction at watching the works of Aldous Huxley sail into this peaceful harbor. There have been times, since about 1955, when I wondered if he was going to disappear altogether. The world in which he grew up, and in which he knew his bearings, had vanished so utterly; the public who read him and made an idol of him had died off and not been replaced; he had left an England that no longer listened to him and settled in – of all places – California, one prophet amid a thousand self-appointed prophets. The targets of his early satire had become as remote as the targets of Pope and Swift; his later attempts to find a positive world-view seemed out of touch with the age or, as in the case of his brief flirtation with hallucinatory drugs, in touch with it only at its most pathetically mistaken.

With all this, Aldous Huxley deserves to live. He had, undeniably, first-rate gifts, even if they were gifts that never quite realized themselves. He was informed, speculative, intellectually hospitable; in his early days he had a pretty turn for satire; he retained to the end a useful sense of form, an instinct towards elegance. If there is not, in his long shelf of books, a single masterpiece, there are a number that live in the mind. *Brave New World*, which might have been his *Gulliver's Travels*, is unconvincing today because its picture of a future dominated by ease and plenty, by technology in the service of a fat-bellied hedonism, is so remote from the dark, hate-ridden barbarism that has actually resulted from twentieth-century scientific premises. But it is, in the terms of the 1920s, an interesting failure. *The Perennial Philosophy*, Huxley's attempt at a *Summa Philosophica* based on the entire range of his reading, shares the fate of most systems – after the lapse of a few years, it seems merely a monument to work for work's sake – but it speaks for the forties as the early satire speaks for the twenties. And the voluminous essays, though nothing they have to say seems important now, remain impressive in their willingness to find something to say about such a huge range of subjects – so much of history, of art, of literature, of manners and customs, of hagiography and mythology and psychology, fell under his restless eye.

In some ways, Huxley can be seen as a victim of family tradition. To be a scion of a famous intellectual dynasty is in itself a misfortune, for anyone who wants to do original work. The mandarin's robes are put on too early, the natural bearing gives way to the stiff gait of one From Whom Great Things Are Expected. In the case of the Huxleys, the particular tradition has been one of *haute vulgarisation*. Thomas Huxley was the most able of the exponents of Darwinism; his incisive and controversial writings helped the more purely speculative work of Darwin to do its work in the world, so that we still speak of 'Darwin and Huxley' as one might say 'Marx and Lenin.' Aldous Huxley's brother Julian, a biologist, has engaged for many years in a lucid and constructive popularization of scientific ideas; he became something of a national idol during the years of the BBC's pioneering discussion program, the 'Brains Trust,' during the war years. In the case of Aldous Huxley, one feels that the same family gifts were there, ready to be used, and that he spent his life in a search for some large and luminous idea, comparable with Darwinism, at whose service they might be put. He never found that idea; of the ideas that emerged in his lifetime, those in the sciences were too abstruse to be channeled into common thought, and those in politics, Fascism and the various forms of totalitarian Socialism, were too dull and brutal, too morally backward and intellectually bankrupt, to be worthy of the attention of a Huxley. There was, it is true, the quasi-science of psychology, and perhaps it should be placed to Huxley's credit that he had too much intelligence to become a vendor of the notions of either Freud or Jung. For a lifetime he wandered; he found here and there an oasis in which to camp for the night, but he never came to a city.

That convenient fiction, 'anyone who has read this far,' must have decided by now that I am simply going to avoid saying anything about Huxley's poetry, apart from the initial admission that it is not very interesting. In fact, it had a certain interest: the diagnostic. Huxley began to publish poetry in 1916 and stopped in 1931. His verse-writing life thus spanned the Great Divide, the years when the idiom of poetry, throughout the English-speaking world and very largely elsewhere, changed out of recognition. His first volume was published a year before Eliot's *Prufrock and Other Observations* and his last a year after Auden's first *Poems*. He thus illustrates the case of the gifted minor poet who is forced, by the accident of his birthdate, to adapt to a colossal change. Having formed his expectations and habits on the verse of

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The Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam is sponsored by nearly a hundred leading British scientists, scholars, Members of Parliament and public figures. Its President was Lord Boyd Orr, F.R.S., who has recently died; and Dr. Dorothy Hodgkin, O.M., F.R.S. is the vice president. The Committee welcomes financial aid for this vital work in lessening the agony that is being inflicted on the people of Indochina.

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the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, having already invested a certain effort and achieved some reputation, he is faced with a sudden complete shift in sensibility. What does he do? Call it a passing fad and wait for it to disappear? Run after the new fashion with his head if not with his heart? Or genuinely strip away existing attitudes, switch on his radar, and devoutly wait to see if the signals that are coming to other people will come to him too?

The situation was made sharper and more tragic for the English poet because the new idiom was Franco-American. Those English poets of already matured gifts who used the language in an English way and showed an obvious continuity with classical English poetry – notably Wilfred Owen and Edward Thomas – had been killed in the war. If such men as these had lived, there would have been a native English alternative to the new poetry, a possible line of development which would have allowed for the change to a modern sensibility without entirely abandoning its own idiom. But with the deaths of Thomas, Owen, Rosenberg, Sorley, Grenfell, Brooke and doubtless many gifted poets who had not yet spoken, English poetry fell silent. Of the survivors, Hardy was too old, Graves and Blunden too shaken and exhausted to resume effective work until the moment had passed and the possibility of an alternative was gone.

Huxley's verse – literary, cultivated, sensitive, but never getting anywhere near the grain of experience and always following linguistic convention, never leading it – shows the helplessness even of his clever and adaptable mind in the face of this situation. He writes like the Georgian poets; he writes like Keats; he writes like Verlaine; he tries his hand, once or twice, at free verse in the plangent and rhetorical manner of his friend D.H. Lawrence; but none of it will do; he simply cannot find a way of making major statements in verse. His poems remain, obstinately, a series of minor footnotes on his prose works. The fact that he gave up at the age of 37 seems to indicate that, fine literary critic as he was, he saw the situation clearly and accepted it.

The present edition is handsome and pleasant to read. From the fact that the editor's name is prominently mentioned and some variant readings are given, one deduces that it is meant to have claims to scholarly definitiveness, in which case it is a pity that 'thrid' is printed as 'third' on p. 19, l. 11, and 'form' as 'from' on p. 162, l. 29.

John Wain

Principles of the Unprincipled

Men, Ideas, and Politics by Peter F. Drucker

(Harper & Row; $5.95)

Peter Drucker's latest book is yet another collection of articles, for the most part previously published. Such collections, appearing more and more frequently and with less and less editorial care, are bad enough when edited by somebody else, but when as in this case the author himself puts the book together it seems to be difficult for him to prevent his judgment from being overruled by his vanity. This is the only explanation I can think of for the fact that Mr. Drucker has put all the worst articles at the beginning, and has chosen to lead off with an essay on Kierkegaard, dating from 1949, which is at once opinionated, querulous, naive, sentimental and pompous. Half-way through it I almost gave up on the book entirely. But that, as it turned out, would have been a great mistake, because later on there are some splendid pieces on American politics and on problems of management, about which Mr. Drucker knows a whole lot more than he knows about philosophy.

In all charity I should turn to these at once, but one or two things in the earlier articles cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. First of all, a man who can

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call the theory of evolution by natural selection "pseudo-scientific," as Mr. Drucker does, can have no idea of what "scientific" means. Second, the doctrine of faith, in Kierkegaard's *Fear and Trembling*, is not as simple-minded as it is made to sound in Mr. Drucker's account; Abraham did not, according to Kierkegaard, believe that "he could carry out God's command and still retain Isaac." That would have been too easy – the whole point was that he didn't know whether he would retain Isaac or not, and still he had faith. Kierkegaard wanted to make it clear that you can't have it both ways – have faith and keep your dignity and social standing, for example, after the manner of Billy Graham at the White House. Mr. Drucker thinks of faith as learned through despair and suffering, which sound noble; Kierkegaard knew that human beings in such situations can only tremble with fear, which is undignified.

A kind of confidence that the absolute can be domesticated seems characteristic of Mr. Drucker's thought. A denial of absolutes is for him a denial of ethics, and absolutes come only by faith; but of course we must not confuse faith with morals. One has the feeling of a point not quite grasped, or handled with too blunt an instrument, and indeed the greatest weakness of the early essays is a failure of perception and of sensibility where philosophical viewpoints other than his own are concerned. He makes fun of Marx and calls Sartre irresponsible, and one wonders whether he understands the problematic of historical materialism or has any conception of what Sartre's philosophy of political engagement is all about. He attributes to the young radicals "the pleasant delusion that Daddy will take care of everything, whether they smash a fender or an institution," which seems insulting to the depth of feeling and commitment that has characterized many men and women in this group.

With all this it is no surprise to find him writing, in 1966, "I happen to think that the Vietnam choice was the right one." However sick we may be of Vietnam it remains a touchstone and an image: a touchstone for our solidarity with the human on the one hand or the national (or racial) on the other; an image for the distance that has crept in between beliefs and policies on the one hand, and human realities on the other. Mr. Drucker has the kind of emotional and intellectual distance from Kierkegaard, Marx, Sartre and the radicals – and no doubt also the Vietnamese – that prevents sympathy or even at times comprehension. And this is quite intelligible, for people who are at home in Mr. Drucker's America have for the most part escaped the experiences that might have generated that sympathy and that comprehension. In part it is the scale of America, in part its prosperity, in part its isolation and self-sufficiency, in part its political traditions.

Those traditions, however, are its greatest achievements and its greatest potential contribution to the solution of the troubles of mankind. The American experience poses an awkward problem for the intellectual: is it better to have the right sympathies and sensibilities but be ineffectual on the political level in solving problems of human liberty and prosperity, or without either sympathies or sensibilities to be, over the long run, politically effective in these respects? There clearly is a sense, more limited perhaps than Mr. Drucker would want to maintain but nevertheless genuine, in which American politics has been more effective and has worked more for the improvement of the conditions of life for the majority of the people than those of any other modern nation; and if the system has not been free of injustices and other miscalculations, a start has been made on political solutions to those too. It is plain, moreover, that their solution must, in the American context, *be* political. This is what infuriates the radical, who conceives of the problem and its solution rather in ideological than in political terms. And it is the great merit of Mr. Drucker's later essays to make intelligible the special genius of American political behavior.

By all odds the best of the essays is another old one, this time from 1948, on the pluralistic doctrines of John C. Calhoun. It would be salutary, I think, for everybody who has ever wondered what was happening to American democracy, who has ever deplored the behavior of Congress and its committees, who has ever been indignant about industrial lobbies, who has ever found American politicians insensitive to moral and ideological issues, to read this essay and meditate upon it. It makes clear how an apparently unprincipled mode of political operation can in reality have an adaptability and a fairness well-suited to the complexities of government. Principles are politically cumbersome; this has always seemed to represent the hard, cynical view of politics,

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but Drucker shows that it may have positive virtues: "In nine cases out of ten the refusal to acknowledge the existence of ideological conflict is beneficial. It prevents fights for power, or clashes of interests, from flaring into religious wars where irreconcilable principles collide." Not that America has no ideology, indeed it has a very pervasive one: so pervasive that it penetrates the very schoolroom, in the form of the pledge to the flag – but at the same time so vague that it is hard to say what it really amounts to, apart from an affirmation of the virtues of America. This makes perfect sense to Mr. Drucker, who attributes to Calhoun the honor of having formulated at least one main component of the American ideology, not as a principle but as a rule, a maxim of political operation, to the effect that *every interest group should have veto power over legislation that affects its interest.* This he called "the rule of concurrent majority," and it forms the text, directly or indirectly, for a good third of Mr. Drucker's book.

The problem for America, as Mr. Drucker puts it, was to reconcile Jeffersonian beliefs with Hamiltonian realities: "out of these two, Calhoun's concept of 'the rule of the concurrent majority' alone can make one viable whole." The rule approaches the spirit of democracy by way of a flagrant violation of the letter of democratic principle: its operation sidetracks altogether the constraints of "one man, one vote" by entrusting the crucial levers of power to congressional committees and certain branches of the executive. The committees, as Mr. Drucker points out, exercise their power by deciding who the affected interest groups are, who is to have "standing" before the committee so as to be called to its hearings. But in this light it is perfectly reasonable for groups that feel their interests threatened but do not yet have "standing," such as minorities or generations, to make a lot of fuss and draw attention to themselves. In politics thus organized, recognition is half the battle, and the lobby system is to be regarded as the formal embodiment of this truth.

Yet in a way all this is too good to be true, and the wheel has surely come full circle when a special lobby has to be organized to draw attention to the fact that *citizens* form an interest group. Mr. Drucker might say that Common Cause has misunderstood the system, that such an interest group makes no sense because the principle of the formation of interest groups is always economic (Marx would have liked that). This would seem a confirmation of the hollowness of the system and of Mr. Drucker's satisfaction with it. But turning the ideological or even the political into the economic can also be a saving grace, since "economic conflict [is] the one clash within the body politic that [can] be managed. It [can] be managed because economic interests are divisible, whereas political or religious beliefs are not. One can always split an economic difference in two – and while half a loaf is better than no bread, half a child, as King Solomon long ago perceived, is no good at all. The same goes for half a religion, half a philosophy, or half a political principle."

Of the groups who have no loaf Mr. Drucker says nothing, but he does admit that differences of ideology or principle cannot always be evaded in this way. It depends on how deeply the convictions run. If Mr. Nixon's rapprochement with Peking is an example of political adaptability at its best, showing finally how shallow the whole anti-Communist sentiment has been, the Civil War was an example of political impotence at its worst, showing the extraordinary depths of racial consciousness in America. So what we need is a modification of the system that will prevent the fall into ideological *conflict*, but nevertheless recognize and provide for the resolution of genuine ideological *differences.*

How this is to come about Mr. Drucker does not say, but at least he

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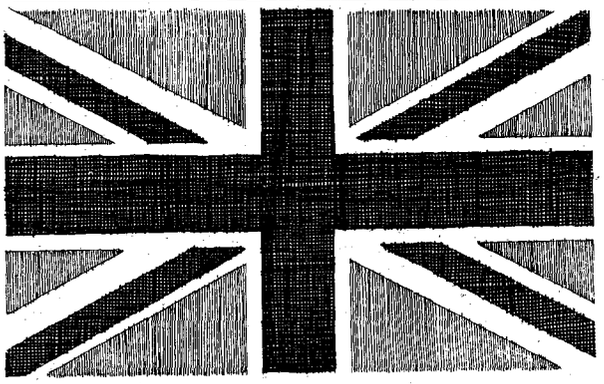

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has a clear view of the problem, and that on his own terms is almost as important as solving it. In the search for a solution he may mean us to take a hint from some of the other essays in the book, particularly those that deal with the Japanese. "What We Can Learn From Japanese Management" should be required reading for anybody involved in collective decisionmaking. The Japanese, apparently, don't go about advocating alternative solutions to problems until everybody has admitted that there is a problem and agreed on its nature and on the necessity for *some* solution. Only then do they start thinking about a decision. "In this process that precedes the decision, no mention is made of what the answer might be. This is strenuously kept out for an elementary reason. It would force people to take sides; and once they have taken sides, a decision would be a victory for one side and a defeat for the other." This seems a great deal more sensible than the American habit of taking conspicuous public positions on incompletely examined and poorly defined issues.

This reminds me that Mr. Drucker has included a couple of articles on the presidential campaigns of 1960 and 1964 which are really dated (who is this fellow Johnson?). His excuse for putting them all into one collection is that they are all exercises in "political ecology," studies in the balance of society, which to man is as truly nature as nature is to plants and animals. At a charitable stretch, if one leaves out the essay on Kierkegaard – and that does seem like a good idea – this fits the subject, but not Mr. Drucker's attitude to it, since unlike the naturalist he keeps recoiling in disgust at the specimens his researches turn up. Along the spectrum from dislike to intolerance to repression, however, Mr. Drucker does come out somewhat to the left of center, and in this he is, so far, on the average, typical of America.

Peter Caws

COMING:
Carl Marcy
reviews
Tonkin Gulf

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

PETER CAWS *teaches philosophy at Hunter College.* JOHN WAIN'S *most recent publication in this country is a novel,* Winter in the Hills *(Viking).*

Notable

Americans and Chinese Communists, 1927–1945 by Kenneth E. Shewmaker

(Cornell University Press; $10)

Exactly 35 years before he helped to pave the way for Mr. Nixon's currently scheduled trip to Peking, Edgar Snow visited Red held areas of China and gave the world its first authentic look at the Chinese Communist movement in *Red Star Over China.* Along with Marine Colonel Evans F. Carlson, later of Carlson's Raiders fame at Guadalcanal, Snow was probably the closest observer of the growth of Chinese communism. So close, in fact, that he once smuggled the wife of Chou En-lai through Japanese lines as an *amah.* Most of the other Americans on the scene shared Carlson and Snow's enthusiasm for Mao and his followers.

It is these early American thoughts about Chairman Mao that Kenneth Shewmaker examines. Were the Americans covering China at this time objective observers or, as has frequently been charged, Communist propagandists? Shewmaker carefully separates the true believers such as Anna Louise Stone and Agnes Smedley, who operated largely on logic of the heart, from the rationalists. A further separation is made between those like Snow, who suffered a deep visceral reaction to China's starving millions, and reporters such as Teddy White, more anti-Chiang Kai-Shek than pro-Mao. As for Marine Colonel Carlson, he found little sympathy for Chiang Kai-Shek because "Traditional middle-class cultural mores left the Marine weary. Nationalist officials often subjected Carlson to the ordeal of sipping tea and exchanging platitudes."

With meticulous research, Shewmaker shows that the Americans who watched the birth and early growth of Chinese Communism assessed it exactly as it was: a hybrid Oriental version of Marxism conceived in opposition to Chiang Kai-Shek's corrupt and inefficient regime.

Marxism in Our Time by Isaac Deutscher

(Ramparts Press; $6.00)

This is not a golden age of Marxist thought, and the surviving practitioners almost resemble decaying Aristotelians. Justifying the ways of Marx to man is by now quite labyrinthine if you still believe that *Das Kapital* is the complete gospel and entirely consistent with the writings of Lenin, Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg. The late Isaac Deutscher did, and he spent a lifetime defending Marx in his pristine splendor from the heresies of C. Wright Mills or Herbert Marcuse. But this edition of his essays is a heretic's defense of orthodoxy, a despairing obsession with the Stalinist crimes that sent him into exile as a young man. More alienated than most New Left writers from Soviet state capitalism, Deutscher owned up to his revulsion and never apologized for it. "In a way," he writes, "Marxism is as responsible for Stalin as Christianity was responsible for the Borgias. . . . We cannot delete Stalinism from our records

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although we are not responsible for Stalinist crimes."

His essay on Trotsky describes "a prophet outcast" who staked his politics on permanent revolution, the glorious internationals and the inexhaustible creativity of the workers. Deutscher, too, believed in a dynamic of revolution that could not be contained, and like Trotsky, when the revolution did not come, he mused over how he had been betrayed.

Deutscher was a disaster as an economist, and his analysis of Keynes and the welfare state amounts to no more than a few loud jeers. His criticisms of Marx are political. Marx had presumed that the workers' revolution would take place in an economy of abundance, but by a sad historical freak, it took root in a backward society just entering the stage of primitive accumulation. The demoralized workers of the West learned to see socialism through the ghastly prism of Stalinist savagery and Russian backwardness, a vision Marx had not prepared them for.

As one of the few real Communist moralists, Deutscher catalogued in his exile the ironies of the Revolution's legacy: a tragic dialectic between the backward but revolutionary East and the advanced but reactionary West stalling the emergence of "the new socialist man." But he also had hope. In contrast to Georges Sorel, he assumed that as technology and civilization progressed, the "irrational elements" of revolution would disappear. He even claimed to find in Marx the roots of a new pacifist morality, or perhaps more accurately, a few scattered hints about the withering away of the state.

Deutscher's interest in the new socialist man went far beyond Marx's. The new man had to be rescued from Stalin. He would be neither a Kremlin gangster nor a flower child, but like Deutscher himself, a chill and agnostic humanist who shrinks from both religion and existential absurdities.

Willy Remembers
by Irvin Faust

(Arbor House; $6.95)

"Major Bill McKinley was the greatest president I ever lived through. No telling how far he would have gone if Oswald hadn't shot him."

This curious speech opens Irvin Faust's third novel (*The Steagle* and *The File on Stanley Patton Buchta* are the other two), and has its inception in the age-clouded mind of 93-year-old Willy Kleinhans, hero – if that's the word – of *Willy Remembers.*

The book centers around Willy's two sons, with many pauses for half-comic, half-serious reminiscences of the Spanish-American War, which Willy fought in during the three and one half months it was waged in 1898.

But Willy's memory at best is poor, and between the *ragout* of foot-soldier's history, the many puns, conundrums and bits of barracks humor, readers may be left wondering what the point is.

The story also suffers from its fast pace, with too many events too sketchily covered. After the war Willy becomes a dairyman, has two sons, a daughter, Margaret, and gets rich. The daughter especially fares ill; coming in for a scant half dozen mentions, and – as a sample of the book's humor – ends up married to "an Arab named Karkatunian." Then there are oldest-son Henry, who enlists in World War II, only to meet "a bullet with his name on it," and younger son Frank, who determines that pole-vaulting will be his life. It also takes it. On the day of his greatest triumph (clearing 12 feet at the age of 45) his old-fashioned bamboo pole shatters and he descends on the jagged lower half.

With his sons and wife Helga dead and his daughter lost to an "Arab," Willy joins the army again – this time the Old Soldiers Home in Washington.

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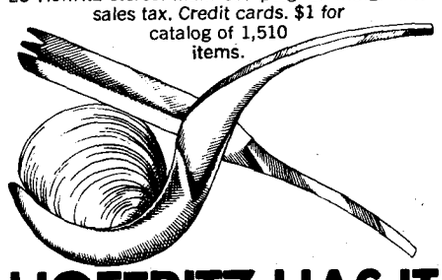

HOFFRITZ HAS IT

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Correspondence

Farm Workers & Unions

Sirs:

I am writing in response to the article by Richard Gibbons that appeared in the July 24 and 31st issue regarding Farm Workers and City Unions and to correct the false, malicious statements that appeared in the article.

First, let me state that I have felt for some time that a State Labor Relations Act patterned after the Federal law to provide protection to hospital employees, employees of small businesses and agricultural employees would be in the best interest of this state. The specifics of such a law, though, have never been as described in the article by Mr. Gibbons.

I have never advocated the elimination of the right to strike or the prohibition of consumer boycotts by agricultural workers. There was never a coalition, either formal or informal, between Senator Matson and Senator Grieve and myself and there was no invitation to add amendments to labor's bill to provide items like a 60-day lapse before union validation and a nine-month "cooling off" before a strike.

The joint labor lobby did *not* endorse the view of the growers. In a floor speech to the members of the House of Representatives on HB 550, the Agriculture Labor Relations Bill, I pointed out that the bill was for the benefit of *farmers* and that Labor was unalterably opposed to the measure. In addition, I voted against this repressive measure.

Senator Grieve, I believe, sent the State Labor Relations Bill back to Committee because it was feared that the farmers had sufficient support to attach amendments such as those described by Mr. Gibbons – not because he was the "architect" of *any* deal with growers.

In my discussions with Fred Ross, Jr. of UFWOC, I have suggested that the farm workers assist in the drafting of legislation that would *not* be detrimental in their organizational efforts and would provide farm workers with the same rights and protection that is available to almost all other employees in this country.

I am fearful that repressive farm labor legislation will eventually pass in this state. I want it to be known, though, that I will work and vote for the defeat of any one-sided farmer-oriented legislation.

Finally, I think it was totally unfair of Mr. Gibbons to describe organized la-

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bor's spokesmen as having "rumpled suits, lumpy faces and cigars." The united labor lobby in the State of Washington has been instrumental in the passage of most of the progressive social legislation that has been enacted by our legislature.

I am hopeful that you will print this response to what I consider to be a very damaging, biased and untrue article.

Gary Grant
State Representative
Olympia, Washington

In reply:
I seem to have been misunderstood by Rep. Grant. A careful re-reading of my article has turned up no censure of his position on HB 550 or of the theoretic bases of a possible state labor relations law. All my statements concern support given the grower-amended Senate Bill 371 by those concerned, including Rep. Grant and Sen. Greive.

In all honesty I must state that Sen. Greive did not list a call for bids by farmers on amendments to SB 371 in the Seattle Daily Journal of Commerce and neither did Greive nor Sen. Matson say they were making a deal. The word used on the Senate floor by both gentlemen was "consultation."

Hopefully, Senator Greive's attitude has changed but at the time of the final votes on May 10, there was no mystery about Greive's position or the united labor lobby's support of the grower amendments. Both Greive's and Matson's statements to this effect during the floor debate and the peculiar alignment of votes on Matson's final anti-boycott amendment are part of the Senate record.

I am aware that Washington's joint labor lobby has backed some of the finest legislation in the United States and am heartened by Grant's promise to work and vote for the defeat of one-sided farm bills. I trust it means that the people of the State of Washington will hear no more about Engrossed Senate Bill 371.

Richard P. Gibbons
Bellingham, Wash.

McCarthy

Sirs:
Paul R. Wieck need not have taken three pages in *TNR* ("McCarthy in '72," August 7 & 14, 1971) to appraise Eugene McCarthy's presidential chances in 1972. He summed it up beautifully in one short phrase: "Most people want a leader who will not give up." Anyone who wants to know what Gene McCarthy has been doing in the past three years can only be bitterly disappointed by the answer.

I was red hot for McCarthy in 1968; today I wouldn't walk across the street for him.

My money is on George McGovern in 1972. I know what he's been doing since 1968, and I like every bit of it.

William Bernell
San Francisco

Kauffmann, *from page 26*

feline rhythm. He falls for the old pastoral cliché-shots through waving grass in the foreground – but generally the camera moves and perceives with a kind of easy tension. Gerry Fisher's cinematography appreciates the materials, except for the sunny skies, which sometimes come out white, as in amateur snapshots.

Margaret Leighton is first-class as the lady of the great house, filled with well-bred suspicion of her daughter, then with ire. As the father, Michael Gough is amusingly Olympian. Dominic Guard, the boy, has a nice homely face and is engaging. Alan Bates has sturdy composure as the farmer, though not much character. Also, he wears side-whiskers and sometimes looks like Ringo Starr.

Julie Christie is the heroine and fails to supply the needed magic. First, she is prematurely losing her looks. Second, unlike Gough and Leighton and others in the film, she gives no conviction of gentility – that subject so dear to the working-class Pinter and the American Losey. If Leighton were young enough to play her own daughter, it would have been a more satisfactory film. (Leighton was originally scheduled for the role when the film was first planned by others, back in the mid-fifties.) And Leighton, in her last scene as her aged self, would not have needed to have her voice dubbed by someone else, which I assume is what they did with Christie.

Still I wouldn't want to leave a last impression that this film is not worth looking at and listening to. At his best, in such films as *The Servant* and *Accident* and this one, Losey makes all the right artistic decisions except the fundamental ones. As the old joke has it, don't expect much and it won't disappoint you.

Ken Russell is the victim of a basic fallacy. He thinks that in order to make a film about hysteria, one must be hysterical. His version of *The Devils* makes his frenzies about the frenzied Tschaikovsky in *The Music Lovers* look like relative stasis.

The story is about the "possessed" nuns of Loudun in the 1630s whose visions, as whipped by the frustrations of Mother Jeanne and by political interests of the time, ended in the torture and execution of a priest, Urbain Grandier, a man worldly enough but completely innocent of the charges that were used by the state as a means of squelching a political opponent.

Russell has based his script on Aldous Huxley's historical work *The Devils of Loudun* and on John Whiting's *The Devils*, a very good play. (The play has also been made into an opera by Penderecki, which I haven't heard.) Seeing the film made me glad, for the first time, that both Huxley and Whiting are dead, so that they are spared this farrago of witless exhibitionism.

Russell has insured that, through every moment of the picture, we are paying attention, not to the great themes of spirit and truth, mortality and immortality, but to him. The camera whirls, the smoke wafts in and out, the lights flicker, the music whoops up the frequent climaxes, the editing palpitates, the angles of vision are mostly eccentric. Mr. Partridge in *Tom Jones* said he preferred the actor playing Claudius to Garrick in *Hamlet* because Garrick merely behaved like a man but, as for Claudius, "Anybody may see he is an actor." Russell is a director for the Partridges of this world.

And what is the self that Russell is so proud of? Part misunderstood German expressionism, part diluted Bergman (out of *The Seventh Seal*), part diluted Eisenstein (out of *Alexander Nevsky* and *Ivan the Terrible*), among other derivations. The only elements that seem *echt* Russell are the sadism posing as ruthless candor and the anxiety to be taken seriously.

But it should not be lost that, in this mess, Vanessa Redgrave, grotesquely directed, gives a good grotesque performance as Mother Jeanne; and that Oliver Reed, the Grandier, grows very respectably as an actor. Especially in the scenes where he addresses large crowds, Reed shows a real power to take and to hold. Throughout, one feels him struggling to reach the reality of

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this man, against the tinselly asininities of Russell.

Nine years ago the US saw – very briefly – a Polish film called *Joan of the Angels*, directed by Jerzy Kawalerowicz. *(NR,* May 21, 1962) It treated the same subject with understanding, with severe black-and-white beauty. The only compliment I can pay Russell's swirling multi-colored puddle is that it made me hungry to see the Polish film again.

Personals

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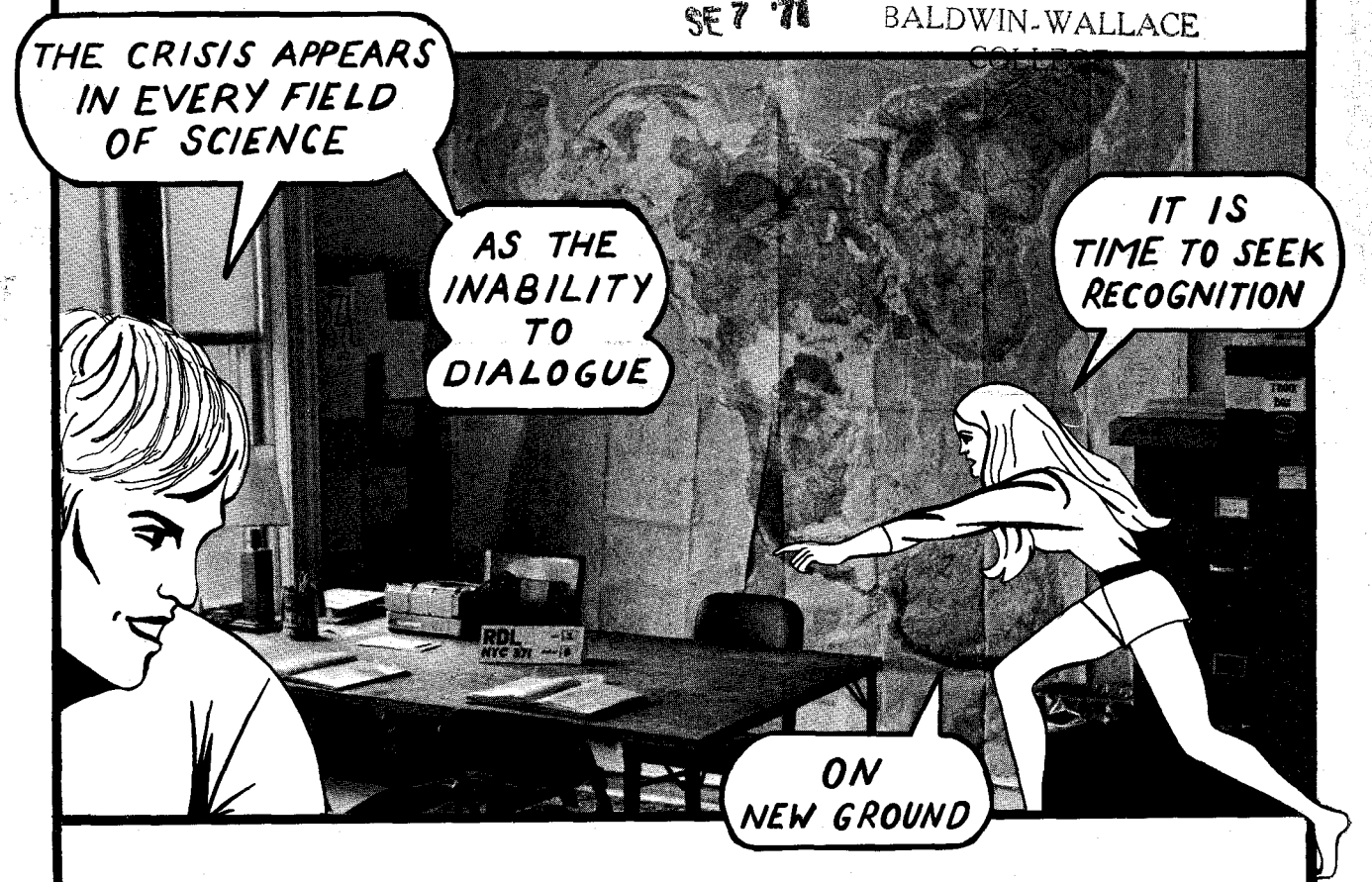
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